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The City Club Bulletin

Volume VI

January 1, 1913—December 31, 1913

Nos. 1 to 16

The City Club of Chicago

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The City Club Bulletin

Published by the CITY CLUB OF CHICAGO, 315 Plymouth Court
Carlos Colton Daughaday, Editor

VOLUME VI

THURSDAY, JANUARY 23, 1913

NUMBER 1



By Courtesy of Mr. Jarvis Hunt

AN ARGUMENT AGAINST OUR PRESENT METHOD OF HANDLING FREIGHT
TYPICAL SCENE AT THE PLATFORMS OF A CHICAGO FREIGHT HOUSE

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NOTE—Through the courtesy of "THE RAILWAY AND ENGINEERING REVIEW," the City Club Bulletin publishes in this issue the plans and maps of Mr. Jarvis Hunt's Proposal for a Central Terminal for the Railroads of Chicago.

PROPOSAL FOR A CENTRAL PASSENGER AND FREIGHT TERMINAL FOR CHICAGO'S RAILROADS

Introductory address by Mr. Samuel Dauchy, Chairman of the Traffic and Transportation Committee:

THE CHAIRMAN—"Gentlemen of the City Club: Many years ago I attended a meeting of an organization known here in Chicago as 'The Sunset Club.' Some of you may remember it. The subject up for discussion was, 'What would I do if I were czar of Cook County?' Fascinating possibility! If I had such autocratic power, the first thing I would do would be to correlate the transportation lines and railway terminals in Chicago. This I say advisedly, because most of the important problems which confront the municipality—such as good housing, eliminating congestion, town planning, and the 'City Beautiful' question—all hinge on a proper solution of our transportation difficulties. Those of you who have studied the transportation exhibit which has been on the walls of the Club for the past year, must have realized how the 'Bottling Act,' so called, through the loop district, paralyzes Chicago's street traffic. Those of you who ship freight labor under the difficulty of the tremendous congestion at our freight stations. Mr. Hunt has a plan. He is a trained architect, and, among other things, he has had particular occasion to make a study of railway terminal problems. I take great pleasure in now presenting to you Mr. Jarvis Hunt, who, with the aid of the stereopticon, will lay before us a proposed solution of our difficulties."

MR. JARVIS HUNT

"Mr. Chairman, and Gentlemen of the City Club: I have not come here today to make an extended speech, and I therefore will get right down to business and explain the plan proposed for the solution of the terminal difficulties of the City of Chicago; and the quicker I get at it, I think, the better you will be pleased."

The "Bottle-Neck" Situation Downtown.

"Let us first refer to the illustration designated as Fig. 1 (page 4). It is a map of the downtown district of the City of Chicago as it is today. The Chicago river is shown in its tortuous course. The shaded areas represent the property owned by the railroads and the ownership is designated by distinctive shading. (See key to the right of the map.) You will see that there are nine streets in the center of the downtown district of Chicago running north and south. When you reach Twelfth street the number comes down to four; making, in effect, the neck of a bottle. As the south side grows, and as the central part of the city grows, communication between the great south side of Chicago and the downtown district will be so congested that those four streets will be absolutely impassable. Today they are so congested that the downtown service of the street railways, and particularly the south side traffic, is deficient by reason of the limited number of cars that the overcrowded streets can accommodate. Therefore, our citizens who today must stand up in the traction company's cars are suffering on account of the congested condition of the streets."

"Let us again refer to the map of downtown Chicago (Fig. 1) and follow the river. On the west side, starting at Canal and Randolph streets, say, five hundred feet from the so-called downtown district, we follow southwardly a strip of railroad property for about three-quarters of a mile. This property, lying on the west bank of the Chicago river, virtually hems in the loop district from the west side. As you know, that three-quarters of a mile of blockade necessarily depreciates the value of the land on the west side. Now mark the river in the great shaded area owned by the railroads. If that river were a street going right through the City of Chicago in its present meandering line, the first thing any administration would do would be

to straighten it out. Why should we not straighten out the river? In dealing with this proposition I have not taken into account any land outside of the railroad properties, excepting a very small portion. The railroads own all the property we propose to deal with. Therefore the railroads could get together tomorrow morning and agree, on an equitable basis, to make a change in the course of the river. In Fig. 2 (page 5) the river is shown moved westward to a straight course, which lies parallel to, and 175 feet east of, Canal street.

"The shaded area in Fig. 2 (page 5) represents the site of the proposed central terminal, with the north and south streets shown going through unobstructed. At Adams street in the Loop district there are nine streets running north and south. When we approach the zone of the proposed station, we have twelve streets. When we come down still farther into the station zone itself we have twenty streets. In other words, by this plan of moving the river over we get twenty streets at the point of congestion instead of four. I want to say, too, that if you are going to take advantage of the square mile of area which the railroads occupy between Polk street and Archer avenue, and if you intend reaching a solution that will put Chicago first in transportation facilities, your plan must allow for future growth.

Accessibility by Traction a Prime Factor.

"The most important requirement for a great central station is that it be so placed as to be reached easily by all of the traction lines. Today the different passenger railroad terminals are so scattered over the City of Chicago that I doubt if a majority of the members of this Club here today know where they are. Naturally a stranger would not know anything about them. As for reaching them by surface transportation, the situation at the present time is perfectly absurd. Therefore, any solution not considering your surface transportation in connection with the terminal would be absolutely inadmissible. Today your traction companies handle in twenty-four hours two and one-half million nickels. Two and one-half million people are accommodated by the surface

transportation companies every day. Imagine getting up a plan for the steam traffic terminals of the City of Chicago and not recognizing that important fact! In short, we must recognize and meet the requirement that people coming from a terminal must be able to reach different points of the city by traction at the least cost and in the quickest possible way.

"Between Twelfth and Sixteenth streets is an open plaza (Fig 2, page 5), around which the trains will make a loop. I want to call your attention to the feature that this plaza is four times as large as the present block occupied by the post-office. Now, when we announced our intention to put the central downtown distributing point of the steam service of this city at this specific location, people criticised us before they had seen the plan, saying, 'You will have even greater congestion in the streets.' But when these people examined the plan they saw that at Sixteenth street we intend having twenty streets, and at Twelfth street twelve streets, running north and south. No matter how this proposal develops later, we propose to adopt the fundamental principle of having enough streets, so that we shall not only *not* congest traffic, but actually relieve traffic. Comparing Fig. 1 and Fig. 2 (pages 4 and 5), you will readily see on Fig. 1 that, coming from the loop district south-bound traffic is constricted to four streets. It is a 'bottle-neck' situation. With all traffic of the great south side and the downtown district converging to the "neck," those four streets even now are very badly congested. Therefore, if we let all the streets indicated right straight through this new station area, as represented in Fig. 2 (page 5), what are we doing? We are relieving the congestion, and making a homogeneous unit of the City of Chicago, so arranged that the natural growth of traffic volume can be taken care of in a beneficial way. If the 'bottle-neck' situation is permitted to remain, you will have a split-up city, with impossible communication. Opening up these streets is the most important feature of this plan.

"In the next place, I want to say that by placing the general through traffic

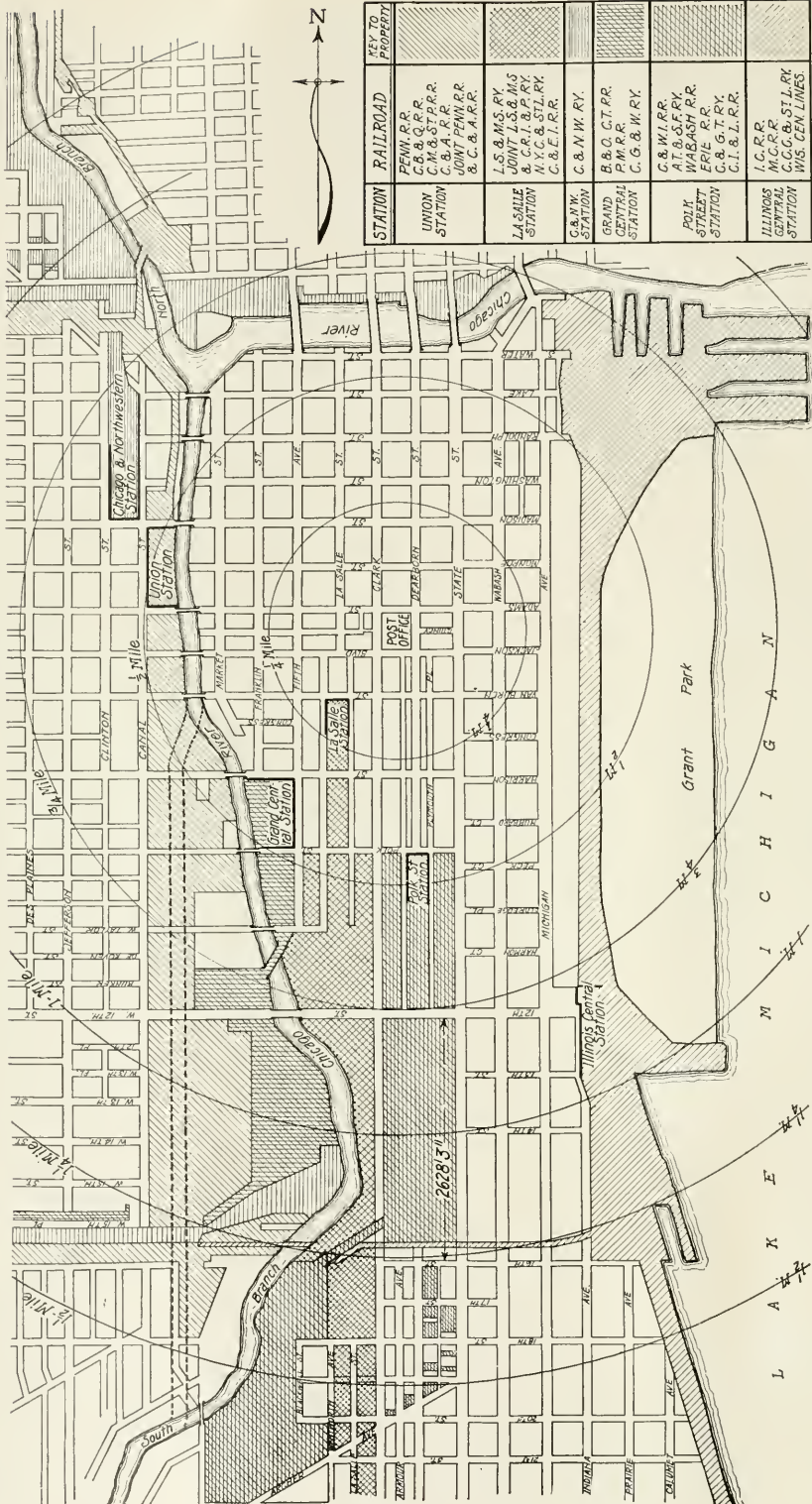


FIG. 1. MAP OF THE CENTRAL DISTRICT OF CHICAGO, SHOWING THE LOCATION OF RAILROAD PROPERTY.

NOTE: The shaded areas represent property owned by railroads, the character of the shading indicating the ownership. The "bottle-neck," referred to by Mr. Jarvis Hunt in his address before the City Club, is the area bounded by Peck Court, State Street, Sixteenth Street, Indiana Avenue and Michigan Avenue. The proposed new channel for the Chicago River is indicated on the map by dotted lines.

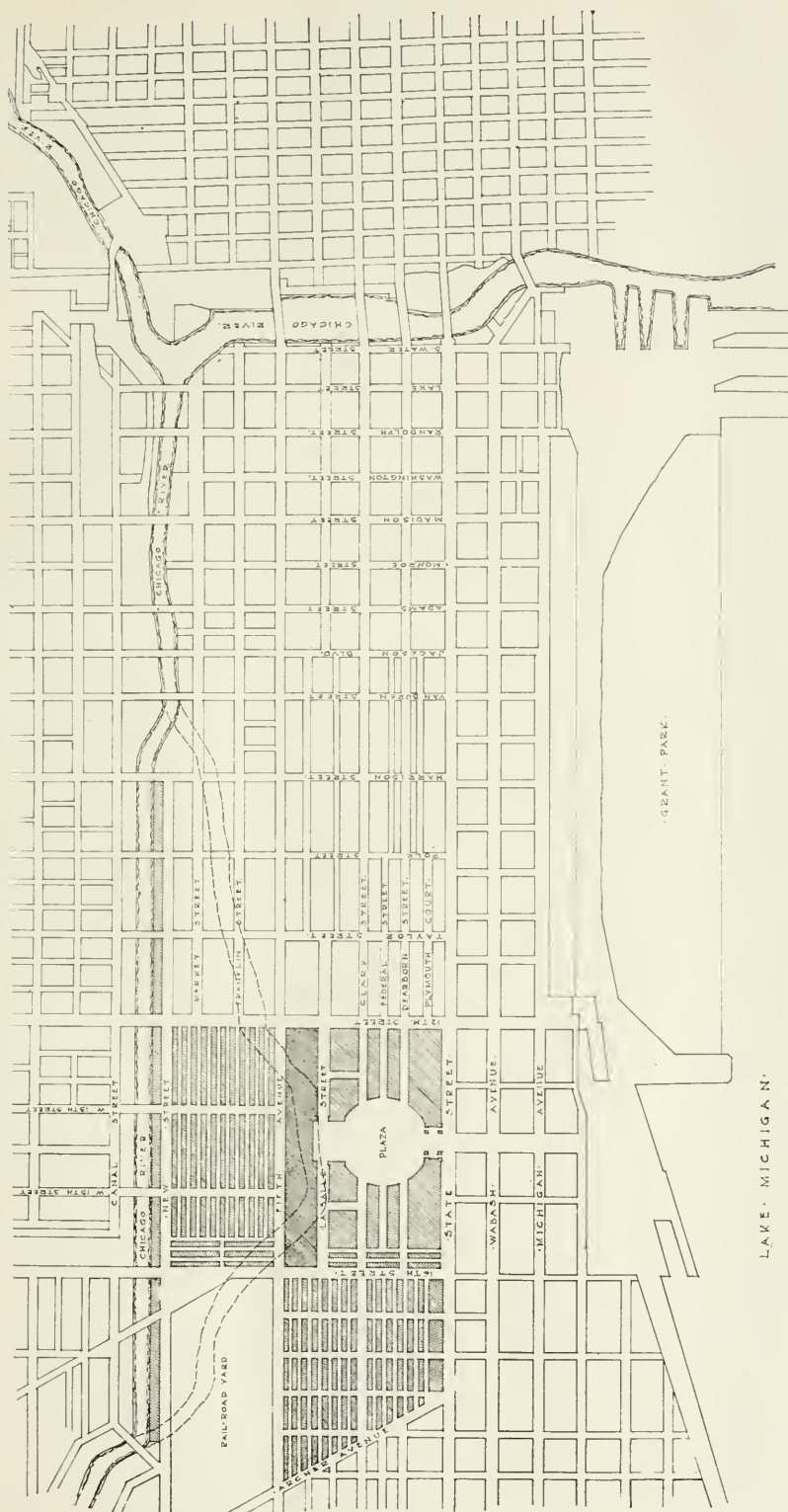


FIG. 2. MAP OF THE CENTRAL DISTRICT OF CHICAGO, SHOWING THE LOCATION OF MR. JARVIS HUNT'S PROPOSED CENTRAL TERMINAL FOR RAILROADS.

NOTE: The shaded areas represent the proposed site of the terminal. The Chicago River is shown in a new channel westward of its present course, which is indicated by the dotted lines. It is intended that all trains enter the terminal either above or below the street level, thus permitting the streets themselves to pass unhindered directly through the terminal property. Instead of only five streets southward from Twelfth Street (the situation today) the plan contemplates twenty.

The buildings shown against the east bank of the Chicago River are intended for lake and rail freight, and for food products now handled in South Water Street.

station as indicated in Fig. 2 (page 5), we do not take away any of the good features of distributing traffic around the city which we have today. In other words, the local and suburban service will be fed from different points around the city—north, west and south—as it is now. The proposition before us in this connection is to so place a station that everybody can reach it by traction in the quickest possible way, and yet not detract from the beneficial features of existing local and suburban service.

The Terminal Plan.

"Let us now look at Fig. 3, which is a map of the upper level of the station, say, twenty-five feet above the street. You see, we give the railroad trains a downtown loop around an open plaza. You have all heard the term 'stub-end station'—a station where the trains pull in, or back in, and the incoming train must wait for the train ahead to unload before it can pull in. It has been estimated that space occupied by the tracks of a 'stub-end station' serves its purpose only about half as well as it would were you enabled to feed in one train right after another. By this more efficient arrangement, when one train has unloaded the other train would not have to wait, but all trains would pull right straight along and would be constantly fed into the station. In other words, you are utilizing your space to the greatest possible advantage.

"The railroad tracks are elevated one level above the street. But the streets are all on a level, and all go through perfectly straight without elevation or depression. For instance, instead of elevating Twelfth street, we keep this street on a level. The south side trains come in on tracks shown in red on the plan and the passengers get off on the south side of the loop which is devoted to incoming traffic. (See "A," Fig. 4, page 10.) When the train has been emptied it pulls around the curve, receives its outgoing traffic (at 'B,' Fig. 4 page 10), and goes out on a new trip. The west side trains, shown in green, cross the river and enter the terminal below the level of the south side trains and then rise by a grade of less than half of one per cent to the level of the

passenger platforms. These west side trains, having risen to the proper level, discharge their passengers, and when unloaded pass around the loop, receive passengers and go west again. The north side trains, shown in brown, arrive in a similar way, stop and unload on the south side of the loop, go around the loop, load up in the out-bound sheds and out they go again. There is not one actual crossing in that station; all crossings are effected at different levels for the various groups of tracks.

"What do we accomplish by using a downtown railroad loop? We separate, first off, the incoming from the outgoing passengers. Those two great streams of traffic do not conflict. Moreover, when you consider a terminal for a great city like Greater Chicago—and we call this plan 'The Greater Chicago Terminal Plan'—you must look into the future and think of the vast number of people who may some day be served. Naturally the two most important factors to be considered are these: Will the people have to walk such distances that the plan will be impossible? and, Will we have congestion at the station? By separating the incoming crowds from the outgoing crowds we prevent congestion and cut the distance proposition right in two. We communicate by a building in the center ('C,' Fig. 4). By introducing our outbound people underneath the tracks and feeding up above, we have cut the distance in two again, and the same applies to incoming passengers, who descend directly from the incoming trains.

"One of the criticisms advanced was that in a plan for a great terminal, embracing all the railroads, people would have to walk such vast distances that it would be absolutely impossible to consider the plan on that account. We can readily prove that to get a train at this station we have to walk only two-thirds as far as we do at the present new Northwestern station. I am not criticising the Northwestern station, gentlemen, but I am showing you that this great terminal of ours is planned on primary principles. The Northwestern station is much better than most stations—very much better—there is hardly a station in the United States today in which you can get to your

train in so short a distance as you can in the Northwestern station. But although this proposed station will handle six hundred trains an hour, you will not have to walk two-thirds the distance here as in the Northwestern station. Therefore we have what I call a primary plan of handling traffic. Under such a plan the criticism that people must walk long distances in our big central station is absolutely disproved.

The Freight Station.

"The freight problem in Chicago is a problem that is being solved rapidly; and this important problem in connection with the proposed plan will be handled by men who are very conversant with it. For the *downtown* handling of freight we propose to relieve the burden now borne by the manufacturer and merchant which congested streets impose. You will notice that freight tracks and freight warehouses are on the upper level with the passenger stations, but this upper level is only for incoming freight. The incoming freight arrives at these warehouses or platform, is unloaded and fed down to the teams in the street below. From the street we drop to a still lower level of tracks which are for outgoing freight. Thus the incoming and the outgoing freight sections are on levels above and below the street level, respectively, and all freight feeds down by gravity. In the downtown area from the west side to State street there are today three and one-half miles of freight platforms for teams to back up against. But the streets leading to those platforms in many cases are tremendously congested. The streets leading up to the freight terminals, in fact, are so congested that the average manufacturer today cannot haul his freight with motor trucks. The reason is simple enough—the motor trucks are delayed so long on the streets by the congestion of traffic that their use proves too expensive, and horses are used instead. In developing this plan for freight distribution, we have borne in mind the important proposition of giving the teams a chance to turn around and back up to the platform without obstructing the street.

"It is further proposed to have the food service of South Water street moved into

the buildings shown against the east bank of the new river channel (Fig. 2, page 5). The commission houses can thus be supplied directly from freight train, express, boat and team, at a great saving in cartage and time. This saving will reduce the cost of all perishable goods to the consumer, and thus help in the general effort to reduce the cost of living. These buildings, which follow the river bank for a mile and a half (see Fig. 2, page 5), will be equipped with cold-storage facilities for the preservation of the various commodities to be stored.

Capacity of the Passenger Terminal.

In the area of property owned by the railroads, you are handling in Chicago today, in the busiest hour, 118 trains. That does not include the locals on the Illinois Central. We always judge the capacity of a passenger terminal by its busiest hour. In the busiest hour in New York City—taking into consideration trains from New Jersey, Long Island, Hoboken, and everything else feeding into New York in the shape of steam transportation—254 trains are handled. In the plan that we are submitting today we have a capacity of 600 trains an hour. I doubt very much if, in this locality, we shall ever be called upon to supply 600 trains an hour. In other words, as Chicago grows greater there will be points of distribution, north, west and south, that will serve the different localities. These will be secondary units of transportation, through traffic going downtown to the central terminal. It is evident, therefore, that we contemplate reserving enough space for the future.

"Mark you this! Every time you have built a railroad terminal in this city its capacity has become inadequate at the end of ten or fifteen years, and you have spent the good money of the stockholders—for what? Nothing. You have nothing when you get through, and the money is wasted. Why are the people of the City of Chicago interested in that fact? They are interested because they pay the bill. If the people are to have more and more a voice in what they pay for transportation, then they should be interested in what is being done in transportation—why they are spending money,

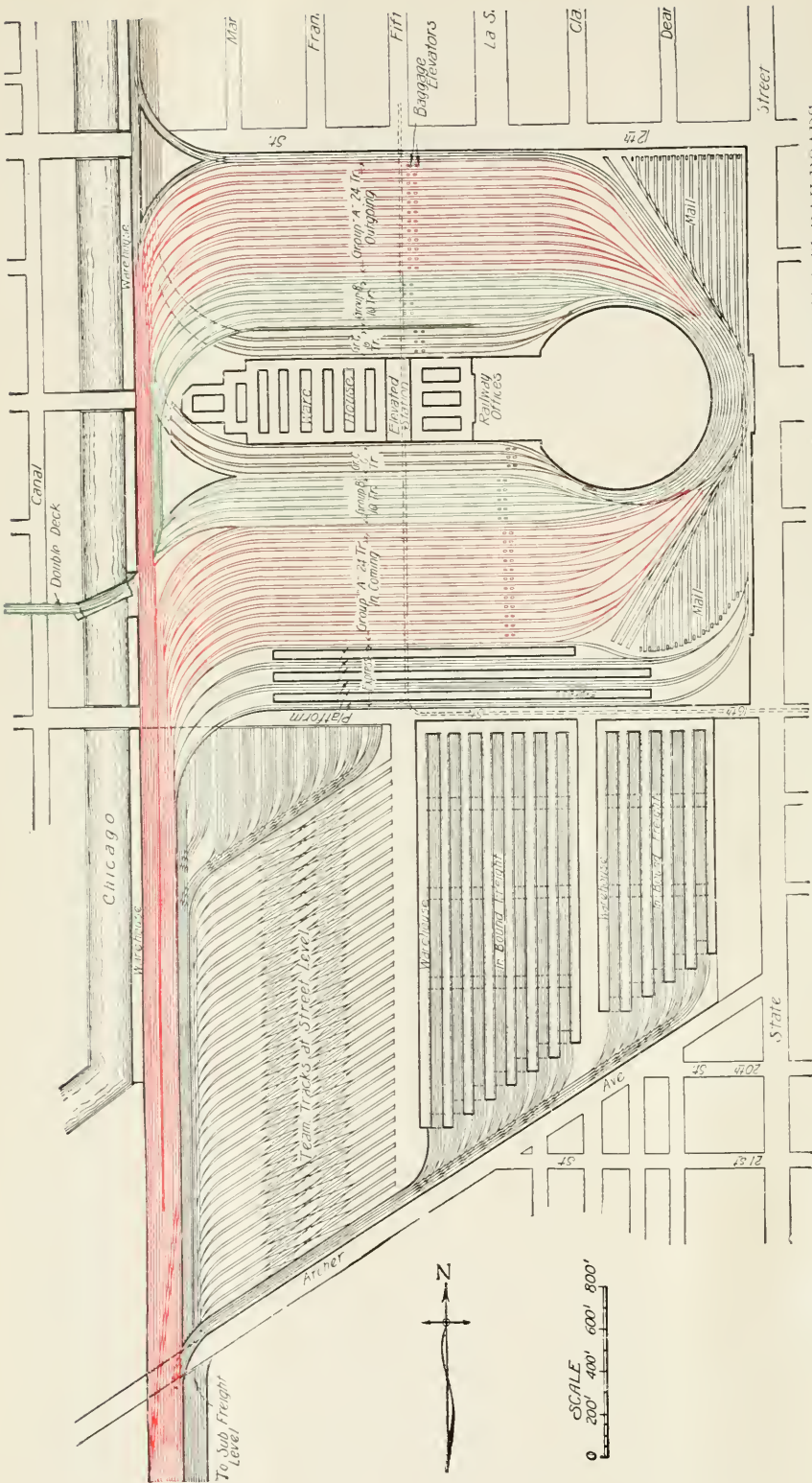


FIG. 3. PROPOSED PLAN OF A GREAT CENTRAL TERMINAL AND DOWNTOWN LOOP FOR CHICAGO'S RAILROADS, BY MR. JARVIS HUNT.

Note: The plan is executed at a level about twenty-five feet above the street.

EXPLANATION:

Red tracks (Group "A"); Devoted to the use of railroads entering Chicago from the south.
Green tracks (Group "B"); Devoted to the use of railroads entering Chicago from the west.
Brown tracks (Group "C"); Devoted to the use of railroads entering Chicago from the north.

All crossings are effected at different levels. Trains unload at south side of station, pass around the circular open plaza, load up at north side of the station, and then start out on a new trip.

and why they are spending it on a terminal. They should know that a projected terminal will be of sufficient capacity to avoid congestion, and that it will be built for the good of the public and not merely to serve selfish interests. When the people make the outlay, they should know that the terminal is designed for the traffic of the future as well as for the present.

Financing the Scheme.

"As to financing this proposition, I want to tell you now that a successful consummation has already been guaranteed. The City of Chicago is going to get something for nothing—and the people are going to get something for nothing. That is to say, that no railroad can build a new terminal in Chicago without first asking the City of Chicago for certain privileges. They receive something and therefore they should give something to Chicago for what they receive. What would they give? They open up downtown Chicago; and they add to the value of real estate, not merely to that immediately adjoining the terminal, but to the real estate of the whole city.

"You will see that the plan as shown in Fig. 2 (page 5) contemplates the handling of passenger transportation in the area between Twelfth and Sixteenth streets only, while the freight will be handled as far down as Archer avenue. Thus we release from railroad occupation practically all the land north from Twelfth street now owned by the railroads. That railroad property will some day be worth two hundred million dollars. You can readily see, therefore, the pecuniary advantage this plan holds for the railroads.

"Some one asked the question, 'Would not the opening up of this property damage downtown values?' If you open up an addition in the City of Chicago, do you hurt values? No. You create values. In Fig. 2 (page 5) you see the streets running straight through the terminal—east, west, north and south. Now, the history of opening up streets through a territory has always shown an increase in value, not only of the land directly next to the blockade that was opened up, but an increase in property values carried back in all directions.

"When the terminal plan is consummated, what have we done for the west side? Instead of putting the west side three-quarters of a mile farther away from the downtown center, we have brought it nearer the downtown center. What does that mean for the west side property owner? It means increased value to his holdings. Moreover, new streets are to be opened up across the river. These streets, in turn, will open up a vast area of property on the west side, the value of which is today down to less than one dollar a foot. All of that west side property will greatly increase in value, while it is evident the property of the south side will also increase in value. Imagine New York City with a blockade in its middle! Did the building up of Riverside drive, when the city grew north, decrease the value of the Battery? On the contrary, it increased it; because traffic was allowed to feed into that section more freely, thereby enhancing its value.

Relief of Congestion.

"Today we have three and a half miles of freight platforms where teams have not the proper facilities for backing up and pulling out again. In the new plan we have twenty streets serving the freight houses, and each one sixty feet wide. What do these improved facilities mean? They mean two things—first, that the merchant and manufacturer are relieved from the enormous tax imposed on them today on account of the congested streets; and, second, the relief of merchant and manufacturer from the tax of time wasted at the platform itself. Think of the money the citizens of Chicago are paying out today for facilities that are not adequate! The remedy our plan offers is to give the trucks six times the present area to back up against. That will relieve the congestion, indeed. Some of the best transportation men with whom I have discussed this proposition think that if we were to allow only two to two and a half times as much space, it would be ample. But we do not want to take the chance; we want to allow enough space to render the contingency very remote of the citizens of Chicago paying a useless and wasteful bill. Although we

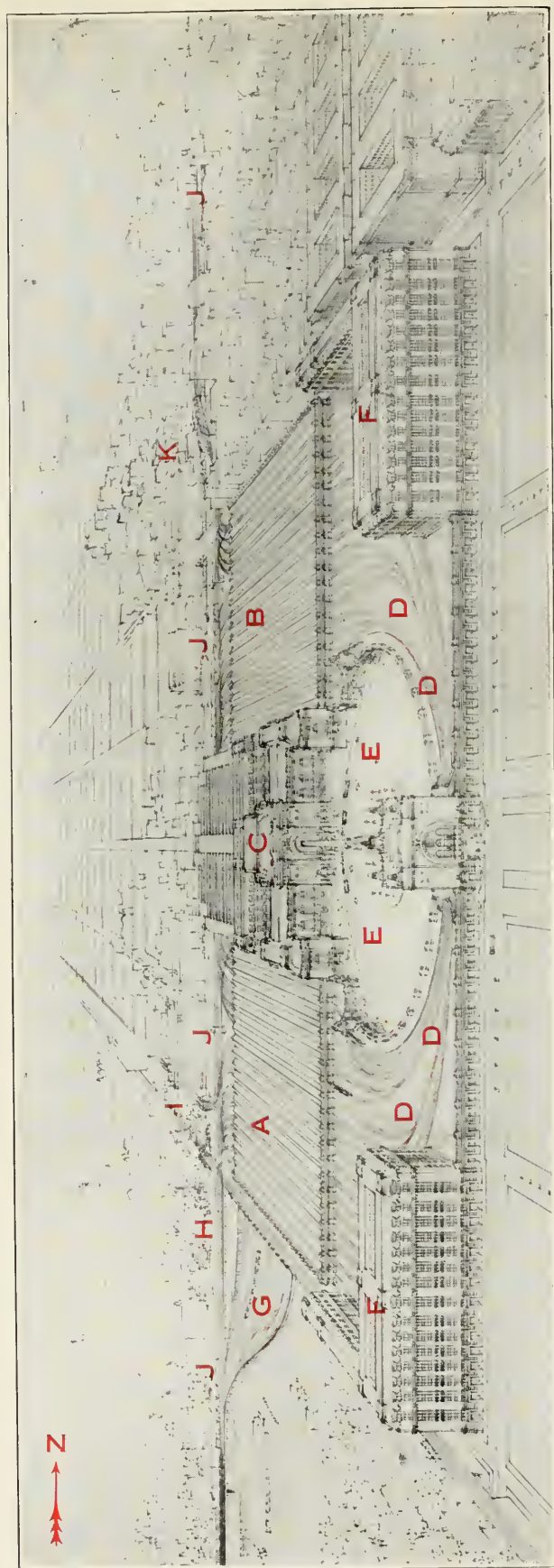


FIG. 4. BIRD'S-EYE VIEW OF A GREAT CENTRAL TERMINAL FOR ALL RAILROADS ENTERING CHICAGO.
(Looking west from a point above Fourteenth Street, near State Street). A proposal by Mr. Jarvis Hunt.

EXPLANATION:

- A—Incoming passenger station.
- B—Outgoing passenger station.
- C—General waiting room.
- DDDD—Elevated loop for all passenger trains.
- EE—Open plaza.
- FF—Railroad office buildings.

EDITOR'S NOTE: Besides offering a possible solution of the down-town freight problem in Chicago, Mr. Jarvis Hunt's plan contemplates effecting other improvements for Chicago, which may be summarized as follows:

- (a) A central railroad passenger station entirely above street level;
- (b) The separation of the incoming and outgoing streams of passengers;
- (c) A down-town loop for railroad trains;
- (d) The continuation of all streets entering the station zone—and the opening of new streets in the zone—without elevating or sinking the level of the streets.

G—Railroad yard.

H—South side tracks entering and leaving terminal.

I—West side tracks entering and leaving terminal.

JJJJ—Chicago River (South Branch).

K—North side tracks entering and leaving terminal.

(e) The electrification of all railroads entering the down-town district of Chicago;

(f) The correlation of street railways and central railroad terminal with a view to the greater convenience of the public;

(g) The removal of South Water Street commission firms to better quarters in the terminal zone, conveniently placed to receive supplies by team, boat, freight and express.

allow six times as much space as is required, yet even that allowance will be qualified sooner or later. Moreover, this system of incoming freight houses and outgoing freight houses, respectively above and below the streets, must eventually be adopted as a standard in railroad freight transportation.

"The difficulty today lies in getting the trucks through the streets that serve the freight platforms. This element has never been considered, and it is here we are losing the money today. Take Taylor street, for instance, on the west side. If you will go down that congested street at any time you will see where our money is being wasted, and it will not take you long to make up your mind that something is wrong.

To Change the River Channel.

"By moving the river westward we can and will bring the west side streets right straight through the terminal into the freight area. A vessel going along the new channel of the river will be able to go the mile and a half in approximately one-half the time now required to go around the old channel. That means that we are going to save time passing through the river, and to save enough time to be a big item of consideration. The moving of the river will cost about five and one-half million dollars. Who is going to pay for it? The railroads are going to pay for it, for the operation is entirely on railroad property. It would largely be a matter of bookkeeping. You can readily see why the railroads will like to do it; it is on account of the added area they get, not west of the river, but east of the river—and a very valuable area it will be. The moment we straighten the channel of the river, the property thus transferred from the west to the east side will increase in value. I do not think it would take us very long to create an underwriting syndicate today to change the course of the river. Any business man can see the advantages clearly enough.

The Movement of Property Values.

"In discussing this proposition some people have said that the City of Chicago is moving westward and others have said it is moving southward. I

thought the best way to find out in which direction the higher values are going was to get the actual transactions that have taken place in the last year. The values thus ascertained have indicated that property on the south side is worth more per foot than property on the west side at points equally distant from the center of the loop district. The increase in values has today gone southward beyond the bottle neck. This means that the big south side is growing rapidly, and the time is coming when, if something is not done, the streets in the neck between the Lake and the railroad properties will become so jammed up that they will be impassable.

"The suggestion has been made that it would be a good thing for Chicago to have different terminals at different points of the city, because we could then serve all points of the city to better advantage. Now, what is the fact under that statement? If you establish a central terminal as presented by our plan, what would it mean? From all downtown, and from all the south and west sides, striking an average, you could get to our union station at Twelfth street more quickly than you could to the several stations now maintained separately by the railroads. On the other hand, if you should try to build up the Illinois Central for the purpose of establishing a union station on their property, you would have a one-sided approach, and the congestion of today at that point would be emphasized still more. Therefore such a proposition is completely thrown out when you consider the city as a whole. And in considering a terminal plan for the City of Chicago, Chicago wants to be considered as a whole, and not as special little business units more or less widely separated. What is the best thing for the whole of the City of Chicago, and what is the best thing, on the whole, for the City of Chicago in the future? We believe we have it here in this plan for a great central terminal.

Station Architecture.

"It has been said that this plan is a dream—that it cannot be done. We started in Kansas City ten years or so ago to get a union central station. For several years it looked as though it were

a dream, but today we have our central union station, and I do not think the people of Kansas City would take anything for it. It is not finished as yet, but even now Kansas City has felt an increase in property values, and apparently the solution of the railroad problem for Kansas City has been found. Looking at the perspective view shown in Fig. 4 (page 10), we see the train sheds represented. In the central building beyond the plaza, outbound travelers find a waiting room and take outbound trains under the north sheds. The incoming crowds come out from the south side. In this plan we do not propose to make the citizens of Chicago go through a mile or two of architecture in order to catch a train. What they go to a station for is to get a train, and get it in the quickest possible way. (Applause.) Moreover, the president of the Pennsylvania road told me in Philadelphia that the Washington station and the station in New York had cost them so much money that he was ashamed to think of the charge per ticket representing the interest on the cost. The citizens of Chicago pay the interest on the cost of any terminal put into the City of Chicago, and therefore they should have a voice in regulating the expenditures for that terminal. How do we propose to protect the people in this regard? We propose to have an earning feature.

The Earning Feature.

"The plan of the terminal is four times as big as it might be made at the start. Eventually all the area allotted will be built up for terminal use as the city grows, but in the meantime much of the surplus property may be rented to yield an income. The income from this property means that the tax on the public per ticket sold will be nothing at all. A careful study of our plans will reveal the fact that the building of this terminal means, not only that we are providing wisely for the future, but it also means that the tax on the people will eventually be nothing per ticket sold.

"In view of these facts, gentlemen of the City Club, the people themselves should certainly be interested, and should have a voice in the planning of their railroad terminals." (Applause.)

Mr. Hunt, in concluding his address, invited questions in regard to his terminal plans.

A CLUB MEMBER: "What about electrification?"

MR. HUNT: "You are all talking now about electrification, and what the smoke nuisance means to the City of Chicago. Do you realize that the smoke nuisance is costing the City of Chicago millions of dollars? You have heard people say many times, 'New York has better architecture than Chicago.' Do you realize that every time a man erects a building in Chicago, the architect is limited in his choice of material? He cannot use material here that he would use in other cities. Why? Because the smoke puts it out of commission very shortly. Therefore the smoke of the City of Chicago is a tremendously important item to Chicago. By electrifying the railroads the smoke would be practically eliminated. But if you tried today to electrify all of the lines coming into Chicago, you would bankrupt the railroads; it is impossible. What we propose to do in connection with this central station is to bring in two or three big arteries of tracks, and make all roads, when they get to a certain point use those arteries for feeding into this station. That part of the scheme can be electrified, and electrified economically. If our great central station is adopted we shall have electrification in Chicago." (Applause.)

A MEMBER: "How do you propose to cross your streets from north to south through the plaza?"

MR. HUNT: "Run them straight through the plaza. The plan simply shows an opening in a descriptive way. All the streets, north and south, run right straight through our terminal, and the same is true of the east and west streets. The first thing you must do is to relieve the congestion at the 'bottle neck.' If the railroad property—that great big area of a mile square in the downtown district of Chicago—is left as it is, like a Chinese wall, so to speak, it will hurt Chicago uncounted billions. We must relieve the congestion, for congestion is the sore point. The traction companies have seen these plans, and gone over them carefully. They tell me that

they think this scheme will relieve the traction problem of today. You can see very readily that all traffic coming from the south and southwest is concentrating on Clark street, State street and Wabash and Michigan avenues, and they will become impassable unless something is done. People stand up today in the cars and berate the traction companies. But the companies cannot help it; they cannot get the cars through the streets, and if they have not the cars they cannot handle the people. If you give them a chance to get the necessary cars on the streets, the people will have seats in the cars where they are standing up today."

A CLUB MEMBER: "Does your plan contemplate the abandoning of any connection or terminal at the lake and the mouth of the river?"

MR. HUNT: "You mean the Illinois Central?"

THE MEMBER: "The Illinois Central and the Northwestern."

MR. HUNT: "In answering this question I am assuming, of course, things that I do not know will happen. I can only use my best judgment, and that is: I assume that the Northwestern station will be too small shortly to accommodate the people. In our plan that station would be kept as a feeder, as a local or suburban station, just as are the local and suburban stations on the Illinois Central. The passengers on these trains must be brought downtown to a point that is convenient for them."

A CLUB MEMBER: "I referred more particularly to freight tracks down at the lake and the mouth of the river."

MR. HUNT: "That freight track proposition on the lake front I have not tackled at all. You can make your own supposition as to that. I am only handling the feature of relieving the stress at the point of congestion. I am planning to allow motor trucks, for instance, to go down through the area I have indicated, and have a chance to back up, unload and get away. That is going to relieve the traffic congestion, we do not know how far; nobody can estimate it."

A CLUB MEMBER: "What provision have you made for expansion in your proposition? It is comprehensive, but does it provide for any growth?"

MR. HUNT: "Just in this way: We propose to build this station only one-third as large as shown, or somewhere between one-third and one-half, to provide for, say, the next twenty-five years. The land not occupied by the station proper would have earning buildings erected upon it. The capacity of the station as shown here is its ultimate capacity. We would not think of putting in today a capacity for 600 trains an hour. If we did the tracks would rust. Suppose you figured it on the basis of 200 trains per hour—almost double the capacity today of Chicago's stations. That would take care of the passengers for some little time to come. This plan is comprehensive in itself, and I believe, as shown today it will suffice for all time for the City of Chicago. I do not believe there will ever be a need for 600 trains an hour in our downtown district. Look at New York. There they have 254 trains in all directions during their busiest hour."

A CLUB MEMBER: "Do you propose to use that terminal for suburban service, or do you think it would be too far away from the central part of the city?"

MR. HUNT: "The suburban service will have stations west and east, as may seem fit, for initial service, and the suburban service so installed can be extended at will. Undoubtedly a great number of suburban trains will run into the central terminal, but such trains are not necessarily a part of the plan. That subject is a matter of future development."

A CLUB MEMBER: "Is it proposed in this proposition to properly ventilate the streets?"

MR. HUNT: "Absolutely yes. Of course, this plan will unquestionably require electrification. In Kansas City, however, where we have steam transportation, we have a covering over the streets, and we get rid of smoke by simply taking it up in regular ducts."

Before the meeting adjourned Mr. Hunt extended an invitation to interested members of the City Club to make use of his plans and elevations (at his office) for further study of the proposed terminal station.

BILLBOARDS

MR. EVERETT L. MILLARD.

"Mr. Chairman and Gentlemen: On December 7 there was a very warm and extended discussion of billboards, and considerable comment seems to have been created by that discussion in the papers and otherwise. Some of that comment is valuable, and I would like to read one or two articles that have appeared. In the discussion on that day one of the representatives of a billboard concern said that there were thirty thousand men in the City of Chicago alone, and the number is probably sixty thousand, dependent upon the billboard trade. In this connection, Mr. Edward T. Hartmann, Secretary of the Massachusetts Civic League, wrote a letter to the Chicago Record-Herald, which appeared in part in the issue of December 28.

"The letter in full is as follows:

"December 24, 1912.

"To the Editor of the Chicago Record-Herald, Chicago, Ill.:

"SIR:—I read last night with a great deal of interest the Chicago City Club Bulletin giving the talks at the recent meeting on billboards. It is a most interesting array of material, but I am surprised that one point in particular was not brought out. Various billboard supporters, as well as others, cite the enormous amount of space devoted in Chicago to billboards, the enormous capital invested throughout the country, the large number of men working in this business—all apparently with a view of making good the claim of the billposters. To my mind these are the best arguments against billposting as a business.

"Billposting is not a constructive business. It increases enormously the cost of living. It does not add to the value of goods, and in my humble opinion it does not sell goods. People will buy just as much without the billboards as they do with them. This may not be absolutely true when new commodities are put upon the market, but my personal belief is that the publicity which causes an entirely new commodity to be brought into common use is that found in scientific and technical papers, newspapers and other periodicals. I have, for example, never been brought to feel the need of a flying machine, and I do not believe I will ever be brought to feel the need of one through billboard advertising. If I come to the point of needing one, or feeling that I need it, it will be through some substantial arguments, or through the reports of substantial experience as brought out in the newspapers.

"Every billposter who claims a right to a living for his work, claims a right to take

from those who do work along constructive lines a portion of their income, in order that he may live by working along non-constructive and non-productive lines. This is one of the central difficulties in American life. If no money were spent upon billboards, and if this entire amount of money went into lowering the cost of the commodities which they advertise, and if, in addition, all the men engaged in the billboard business were engaged in practical high-grade agriculture or some similar productive work, the results would be measurable. It is our common indifference as to how men make their living that is producing the present situation and forcing many people to work against great odds, under great privation and with great hardship.

"This line of argument applies to other businesses as well as to the billboard business. In my opinion it applies fully to the billboard business. It may apply in an even greater measure to the liquor business. It surely applies in greater measure to the stock-gambling business, but if we are going to allow the billposters to say that they must not be driven out of business we must grant the same to the liquor man, the stock gambler, the ordinary gambler, the *de luxe* edition faker, the gold brick handler, and everything else that is made an easy avenue to wealth. In my opinion billboards are non-productive, expensive, and, in addition to all this, they are doing more than any other single influence to counteract the efforts of American people to create attractive outdoor conditions. They are banded together for the destruction of our natural scenery, and of our artificial scenery as developed in our cities. They are a blatant and, as a rule, unprincipled nuisance. I have photographs showing open thieving of space, and you can find open thieving of this style going on all over the country.

"The only thing that in my opinion billboards may be claimed to do, is to divert the sale of goods from one man to another man. This does the community no good. The man who can get the backing of big capital is by this process enabled to take away from the man with small capital the sales which rightfully belong to him. I can see no single constructive or useful aspect of the billboard business. I believe that the men engaged in it would be far more proud of themselves, and everybody admits that they would be more useful, if they devoted themselves to constructive work—that is, work that produces some commodity directly useable and much needed by the people.

"(Signed) EDWARD T. HARTMAN."

MR. MILLARD: "One thing that was taken up was to see how far we could go in regulating the billboards, and we have found it is not legal to regulate them for æsthetic purposes alone.

Thus, in a way, our hands are tied, and we can regulate them only in a reasonable way and on proper grounds. I would like to read the conclusion of a letter from Congressman Frederick H. Gillette, addressed to the editor of the Springfield (Mass.) Republican. He tells of his coming back from Washington, anticipating a restful journey, and so forth, and of having the pleasure of the trip dimmed by seeing startling advertisements on billboards in the fields. His conclusion is:

"* * * There are some things I will never use or purchase. No matter how worn-out I may get in serving my district and how much I may need a tonic, there is one brand of whisky I will not touch, and 'that's all.' My window screens may rust until they are solid and opaque before I will buy a certain alleged rustless variety. My mouth may be so alkaline that I'll have as much craving for an acid as Lott's wife must have developed, but there are fifty-seven kinds of pickles which I'll never taste. If I should want to shave off my beard so that I could go among my constituents

incognito and find out what they really think of me, there is one razor I will never use, though recommended by a name for which I have an undue partiality. And so there are soups and soaps and tobacco and suspenders and divers other necessities of life which from this time forward are tabooed.

"I am not foolish enough to imagine that the loss of my patronage is going to disturb these public offenders, but if every one who feels as I do would adopt the same determination, I think we could speedily bring them to terms. They do not want the expense of such advertising, and if it hurts them they will readily drop it.

"Of course we cannot expect help from the press in such an agitation. They print papers to make money, and these very culprits are their largest advertisers and supporters and will not countenance criticism. But if those of the public who are offended by this obtrusive defacement of nature would show their feelings in their purchases and patronage, it would not be long before the advertisements would be driven to their natural and proper channels.

"FREDERICK H. GILLETT.

"Springfield, August 12, 1909."

(Applause.)

The City Club Bulletin

Published by the CITY CLUB OF CHICAGO, 315 Plymouth Court
DWIGHT L. AKERS, Editor*

VOLUME VI

MONDAY, FEBRUARY 3, 1913

NUMBER 2

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THE PRESENT RAILWAY SITUATION IN THE UNITED STATES—REGULATION VERSUS PUBLIC OWNERSHIP

Judge Stephen A. Foster presided at the noon-day meeting of the City Club on Saturday, January 11, 1913, at which Mr. Carl Vrooman of Bloomington was guest of honor. The introduction by the chairman follows:

THE CHAIRMAN—"We are to have to-day a discussion of a world-wide problem by one who has given it world-wide study. Broadly speaking, the policy of England and of America has favored regulation of railways, while the policy of continental Europe has favored a greater or less degree of public ownership. In this country during the last few years great progress has been made toward perfecting regulation. The Supreme Court of the United States has held that more and more of the power over interstate commerce is vested in the federal government as distinguished from the state government. It has also held that the rulings of the federal commission on questions of fact and in the exercise of its wide discretion are final and beyond review by the courts. Thus the system of control by the federal commission over interstate commerce has been rendered exclusive and efficient. Congress during this time has not only dealt with every phase of the question of unjust discrimination and unreasonable rates, but it has also invaded the field of opera-

tion. It has required the carriers to install safety appliances, and to submit to boiler inspection; it has regulated the hours of service of employes; it has passed new rules concerning the liability of the carriers to their employes for personal injuries; it has provided for arbitration of labor disputes; and it has provided for the investigation of railway accidents. Some of us at least feel that Congress should go even further than that in the way of regulation, and prescribe rules concerning the issuance of stocks and bonds by the carriers, and also for the supervision of their equipment and facilities. But throughout this legislation, both state and national, past and prospective, one principle has for the most part been kept in view. The initiative has in almost all instances been left with the carrier itself. The incentive for personal effort, both in the construction of railway lines and in their operation, has been considered of value and not to be lost or destroyed. It is believed by so doing more and more satisfactory service for the public has been secured. Whether or not this is so, I presume, is one of the questions that will be discussed by the speaker of the day. Whether or not the different steps that have been taken in this country extending the regulation of federal and state authorities over the railways will

*Carlos Colton Daughaday, Acting Editor.

ultimately lead to public ownership is doubtless one upon which he will give us light. I am pleased to be able to introduce to you to-day one who has given this subject so much thought, and who can speak to you with so much authority. I have the pleasure of presenting Mr. Carl Vrooman, of Bloomington, Ill." (Applause.)

Mr. Carl Vrooman

"Gentlemen of the City Club: That great American philosopher, the late Josh Billings, once said that 'you can never have an honest horse race until you have an honest human race.' The principle involved in this dictum is to my mind the only known key to a proper understanding of the railway problem. No system of railways so far worked out in the world has ever been entirely satisfactory to everybody. There is no such thing as perfection in railway management, either under private initiative, unrestricted competition, government regulation, or government ownership and operation. The only question is whether or not a given system of railway management is as good as the people of any country are capable of giving themselves at any particular time. In a country where the intelligence of the citizens has reached a high plane, in which the technical competence of the average citizen has reached a high standard, evidently the people are capable of giving to themselves a better and more effective system of railway management than they are in a country where these conditions do not prevail.

"When railways were introduced into Europe, England went in, as we did, for private railways. Railway competition was the slogan of British statesmen. Belgium, on the other hand, went in at once for government railroads, while France started out with a system of government-regulated private railways. Thus we have had from the start these three types, and we can trace in the history of the railways of these three countries very interesting parallels and very interesting dissimilarities. It is possible to compare the results gained from these three different methods, and to arrive at some very interesting results.

"Of course the thing that interests us most is not an academic discussion of world-wide railways, but a discussion of our own particular railway problems with whatever of light can be thrown on them from the experience of other countries.

"In the United States, for perhaps the first fifty years, we believed in the old English idea of competition in railway management—in accordance with the classical doctrine of the economists. We have all been nourished and nurtured upon this doctrine of *laissez faire*, of competition, of individual initiative, and we stuck to it even when it seemed ridiculous to the majority of railway economists. The remarkable thing about it was that we were able to stick to it as long as we did.

State and Interstate Commerce Commissions

"Finally, however, America started on her present career of railway regulation by the creation of the Interstate Commerce Commission and the various state commissions. You are all aware how embryonic the Interstate Commerce Commission was at its inception. It had almost no power. The main thing it accomplished during the first years of its existence was in the way of educating the American people on the railway problem, and the same might be said for the different state commissions. During the first few years of our experiments with state regulation there never was any commission which achieved anything like satisfactory results, but we had a variety of commissions started, and these various experiments have given us a great deal of interesting data on the subject.

"The Massachusetts State Commission, which is held up as an example of a commission with no power save that of moral suasion, has for many years been regarded by certain railway economists as the ideal railway commission. But this theory at last has collapsed, and practically no one can be found today who will maintain that the Massachusetts commission is at all a model institution.

"It is not generally known that the state of Texas was the first state in this union to have a really powerful and effi-

cient railway commission. But such was the case. It is true that Texas has made some mistakes, in some cases it went a little too far, but it enjoys the distinction of being the first state that ever had a commission 'with teeth.' Now that we have got the Wisconsin commission and the New York commission and the New Jersey commission and the Georgia commission, all of them with power to make rates, the Texas commission no longer stands alone.

"Along with this development of the state commissions, with increased powers, has gone a great increase in the power of the Interstate Commerce Commission. This great instrument of government started out, as I said, with largely perfunctory powers—the power to look into conditions and tell the people what they thought of them, and to try cases and render decisions that they had no power to enforce. But this species of ineffectualness is a thing of the past, for today we have an Interstate Commerce Commission with large powers that is exercising its powers with great discretion and technical competence. Ever since the formation of the Interstate Commerce Commission, the commission has been composed of high-minded men with great ability, in whose character everybody has had the highest confidence. We have never had a man on the commission against whom there has been raised any charges of graft or any suspicion of anything even remotely approaching graft or dishonesty. Moreover, the commission is undoubtedly the hardest working body of men in the United States government today.

"I think that not many of us realize the amount of work the commission is carrying on. I once devoted several months to studying its activities, and I was appalled at the strenuousness of the commissioners. Your chairman has told you something of the work of the Interstate Commerce Commission, how in some cases it has reduced rates, how it has equalized rates, how it has introduced safety appliances, how it has prescribed methods of accounting and seen to it that the prescribed methods were carried out. If I had time it would be very interesting to go into details and show exactly what the state commissions

and the Interstate Commerce Commission are accomplishing. But that would require an entire afternoon, and I will have to content myself, therefore, with indicating some of the things that they are not doing.

"The germ idea, the essential function of our present modern commission, is to give to the individual citizen, either in the state or the nation, the expert assistance of men who are highly trained and highly competent to aid him to contest these questions with corporations which have equally competent men in their employ. In former years when a man went before a court with a railway case involving rates, or some important legal problem, he worked under a very great disadvantage, and his lawyer worked under a very great disadvantage, for the reason that the railways were always represented by lawyers who for years had specialized in railway law. These lawyers had at their beck and call specialists who had been in their employ for years, and who were familiar with the intricacies of rate making and the thousand and one highly complicated matters which only railway specialists understand. The ordinary man in going up against that sort of a proposition was very like a man in a canoe attempting to contest the supremacy of the seas with a modern battleship. Even the judge, if he had not specialized in railway law, was very often at a loss to know how to decide many of the important questions at issue. The great improvement which the commissions have brought about is this, that today any man, woman or child in this country, at the cost of a two-cent stamp, can communicate with the Interstate Commerce Commission, or one of the various state commissions, putting his case in its hands, with the certainty that the case will have the attention to which it is entitled. Of course, there are cases where shippers appearing before a railway commission find it necessary to engage legal assistance, but a very great majority of the cases which are attended to by the Interstate Commerce Commission, several thousand certainly every year, are cases in which the complainants have merely written the commission the facts, and left the matter in the hands of the com-

mission to be pushed to as successful a conclusion as possible without money and without price.

"This is a novel and interesting development, and I hope that no one will think from what I may have to say later that I underestimate or undervalue the great work that is now being accomplished by the state commissions and the Interstate Commerce Commission.

The New England Situation

"And yet the real fact of the matter is, that, successful as has been the work of these commissions, as great as are their powers, as high-minded as are the commissioners themselves, at the present moment in this country we apparently are not within sight or earshot of any real solution of our railway problem. Questions as great and as difficult of solution as any that faced us twenty-five or fifty years ago, face the American people to-day in connection with the railway question.

"I have had the privilege during the past two months of being called to Boston to investigate the conditions of the New England railways. Mr. Louis Brandeis, who for many years has been carrying on a brilliant and aggressive fight against the gradual but steady encroachments of a transportation monopoly, has today for the first time during this long and bitter contest got the people of New England almost to a man behind him. This New England transportation monopoly has come, not like a thief in the night, but gradually, brazenly, resistlessly, like a conquering army. With Mr. Mellen at its head and Mr. Morgan at its back, this colossal corporation has gradually taken over not only the steam railways in New England, but also the trolley lines and all the steamship lines which touch at New England points.

"There were laws on the statute books which forbade the New Haven line or any other railway to take over the trolley lines. Mr. Mellen did not care anything about these laws. With an insolent disregard for the majesty of the law, he pursued the even tenor of his way, looked neither to the right nor left, and never said so much as 'by your leave.' The law was plain. Everybody knew the law

was plain. There was nothing uncertain about the construction of the law. He simply ignored it; he trampled it under foot. He bought the trolley lines in direct defiance of the laws of the state of Massachusetts, and when the matter was brought up and threshed out in the courts and in the general assembly, Mr. Mellen went to the governor of the state of Massachusetts and practically issued a declaration of war, in which he set up the economic power of the New Haven Railway against the political power of the state of Massachusetts. His declaration in substance was: 'We are here, and we are here to stay. What are you going to do about it? If you can afford to throw the commerce and industry of New England into a state of confusion and chaos, go ahead, punish us, forfeit our charters. We can stand it if you can.' And the Legislature and the government bowed down to his will and put the seal of their approval upon his anarchistic acts. This does not sound very much like the old New England spirit in the days of the revolutionary fathers, but this is what was done. It is incredible, but it is true; old New England, the cradle of liberty, has become the cradle of economic tyranny, of transportation monopoly—the most thoroughgoing transportation monopoly in this land.

"Now, the problem which New Englanders are eagerly discussing is, What can be done about it? When they created the Boston Holding Company to hold about 50 per cent of the stock of the Boston & Maine Railway, for the New Haven road, a clause was inserted to the effect that at any time the state of Massachusetts could buy this block of stock of the Boston & Maine Railway. There had been a similar clause in the old Boston & Albany charter, and the B. & M., having never seen any desire manifested on the part of the government of Massachusetts to exercise this power, felt that this clause was a concession which might safely be made to the reformers without doing the road any harm. It remains to be seen whether or not this is the case. At any rate, Mr. Brandeis and a number of other able and patriotic men in Boston have decided that the time has come for the state of

Massachusetts to make that purchase. This is the most interesting railway situation today in the United States.

Railway Problems in Illinois

"We do not need, however, to go to New England to find highly unsatisfactory railway conditions. Look at our Alton line right here in the state of Illinois—a line which runs through the richest and most fertile agricultural region on the face of the earth, but which at times can hardly pay its section hands—a line many of whose trains during certain seasons of the year are crowded to suffocation, with people standing in the aisles. The conductor of one of these trains, on being asked why he didn't get another car, replied, 'It is this way every day. I have reported the matter for the last two months and nothing is done about it. It is no fault of mine; I can do nothing.' We have a railroad and warehouse commission, but it does nothing to end this inexcusable condition of affairs.

"Our grain shippers down in central Illinois find that during the season for moving crops we cannot get sufficient cars. The commission has done a great work in requiring the railways to operate their cars in something approaching an equitable manner, but the railway commission has no power, and there is no railway commission that has the power in this country, to see to it that the railways furnish sufficient cars to take care of the traffic.

"Several years ago I came home from abroad, fresh from some investigations of European car shortages on government lines, only to find at home a situation worse than anything I had ever seen or heard of in Europe. The railways of the whole Northwest, including Jim Hill's road, one of the very best managed railroads in this country, were almost paralyzed. Grain was stacked for thousands of miles along these lines and was decaying and rotting for lack of enough cars to send it away in. And throughout this country practically the same condition of affairs existed.

Government Regulation

"Such illustrations might be gone into at very great length, but I think enough

has been said to indicate that while it is quite possible, by means of regulation, to remove some of the most blatant evils of private railway management, at the same time the great fundamental causes of our most serious transportation problems have not been removed.

"When you get beyond the removal of certain positive evils of private railway management, then you get beyond the possibility of improving conditions by government regulation of private railways. Regulation, like drugs, is very useful in acute crises, but when a chronic condition of anemia exists it cannot be reached by any regulative process. You cannot inject initiative into a railway management. If you so supervise the railways, as they try to do in France, that every act of the railway officials from the president down to the fireman is inspected by some government official, then while you may prevent certain positive defects and evils, you will so paralyze all liberty of action, you will so completely destroy all powers of initiative, that your last condition will be worse than your first.

"President Hadley in his book, written some twenty-five years ago, but which is still a classic, says that too great a degree of government regulation is worse than government ownership and operation. This fact has been illustrated in a number of cases.

Watered Stock an Evil

"The other day I was told by a railway official on one of our western lines that for certain regions his road had not appropriated a dollar this year for maintenance of way. They kept a few gangs of men on the pay roll, he said, to be used in case of accidents, but no attempt was being made to keep the road-bed in a normal condition of repair.

"A majority of the railways of the country are more or less in this highly unsatisfactory condition. The railroad presidents and managers and officials generally in this country are thus placed in a very peculiar and difficult situation. From above they have the commissions keeping down rates; from below they have shippers and passengers demanding lower rates and better service; the employees demanding higher wages; and

from every side they have stockholders and stock manipulators and banking syndicates pressing on them for greater dividends, or the same dividends on new and greater issues of watered stock. The high-minded, hard-working, highly competent railway managers and specialists who are today running the railways of this country are for the most part vainly trying to achieve the impossible. The pressure on them is increasing from every side. It is a question in their minds, as it is a question in the mind of every railroad economist, what the issue will be. So long as we permit the unrestricted issuance of fictitious securities by the roads, there can be no possible hope for any fair or reasonable solution of the railway problem. When a railway becomes burdened with millions of dollars of watered stock and bonds, it must either raise rates, lower wages, reduce dividends, increase the efficiency of its management or curtail its service. This much is clear.

Government Ownership Predicted

"In view of these and similar facts, it is evident that railway regulation is not a complete and unqualified success. Moreover, our hopes of ultimately working out for ourselves a satisfactory régime of railway regulation would seem brighter were it not for the fact that while many nations have tried it, no nation has ever yet succeeded in creating a system of railway regulation that was satisfactory either to the railways or to the public.

"Belgium, Norway, Sweden, Natal, New Zealand and the Australian colonies all either began as state roads, or, for some reason, adopted a government régime before making a protracted trial of private railways. But Germany, Austria, Hungary, Russia, Denmark, Switzerland, Italy, Japan, Mexico and France, after making long and painstaking trials of private railways, finally were forced to decide in favor of government owned and operated railways. Think of this continuous and imposing procession of the nations of the world away from the standard of private railway monopoly to that of public ownership and operation. And not one nation among them all

has ever been known to make a permanent change of policy in the other direction.

"This magnificent unanimity of action cannot be made light of or ingeniously explained away. It has a meaning for us today, a meaning which is as clear to most of our railway presidents as it is to railway economists. I am told, on the best authority, that gradual railway nationalization on equitable terms would not be an unwelcome solution of this problem to many of our greatest railway managers.

"Probably the strongest argument that can be urged in favor of government ownership of railroads is involved in the contention that such a régime would give us as good a transportation system as we as a nation deserve, because it would be as good as we are capable of achieving and maintaining. And probably the most powerful indictment that can be urged against our present system of corporate railway (mis-)management is that which is so easily made by merely calling attention to the fact that our present corporation morality, the morality of the financial jungle, is admittedly and notoriously lower than our morality as individual citizens, or our public morality in state or nation.

"Manifestly, if in America or elsewhere the dominant influence of the world of 'big business' and 'high finance' were found to act as a moral stimulus to the rest of the nation, and to exercise a beneficent counter influence to the dishonest and demoralizing tendencies which were manifesting themselves in the various departments of government, doubtless it would be wiser, while that condition of affairs lasted, to leave the control of our national arteries of commerce in private hands. But when, as in our country today, the main effort of government necessarily is directed to the herculean task of compelling a reluctant and oftentimes openly rebellious business and financial world to respect the most elementary principles of common honesty and legitimate business rectitude, the case would seem to be somewhat different.

The strongest argument, or at least the one which is generally conceded to be the strongest argument against Government ownership of railways, is

the supposed fact that government industrial enterprises are less efficiently managed than private enterprises. When I first went to Europe to make a first-hand study of the railway question, it was with the feeling that though there might be social advantages in connection with government ownership, yet from the standpoint of economic efficiency private management undoubtedly had the best of it. However, I did not always find this to be the case. In France I found that the French government in some instances had built lines better and cheaper than private enterprise had been able to do. Moreover, I have never been able to find any of our railways that are more efficiently managed—not even the Pennsylvania—than are the Prussian state railways.

"It is pretty generally believed that we could not get the great masters of the railway world to run our railways if the government owned them. Perhaps not, but Mr. Mellen and the other great railway managers are not half as interested today in running our railways as in their predatory schemes of high finance. The cream of their energy is spent watching the stock ticker, manipulating, speculating, and gambling in stocks and bonds. The railways of this country are actually run by highly trained men, who work long hours and bear much responsibility. These men who run the railways, the highly trained technicians and managers, are looked upon by the great predatory masters of finance much as the peasants, schoolmasters and the clergy were looked upon by the predatory barons of the middle ages. They regard them as belonging to a lower race of beings, these men who work for fixed salaries.

Railroading a Legitimate Enterprise.

"The railroad business itself is a highly legitimate enterprise; but it is a legitimate business enterprise which at present is being prostituted to the financial ambitions of men who go out to fight and to conquer, just as men have gone out to subdue and plunder their fellows since first the human race emerged from the jungles of primeval man. These industrial overlords, these financial tyrants, are the ones who have brought our railways in this country to their present critical

condition—who have brought about a state of affairs which at any time may result in an acute crisis or industrial depression that will throw thousands of miles of railways into a state of bankruptcy.

"Therefore, if the American people once decide that present-day railway evils are inherent in corporation railway management, they will say, 'Even though it be costly, we can well afford the luxury of railways run in the interests of the whole people; of a transportation system that looks first to the building up of the entire industrial life of the nation and only secondly, or not at all, to profits; of a railway system which will give us freedom from the industrial tyranny which is fastening itself upon the people of this country, rich and poor alike. For this is a luxury that not only every nation can afford, but that no self-respecting nation can afford to be without. Where freedom, either political or industrial, is at stake, nations do not haggle about the price. Cost what it will, in time, in treasure, or even blood, a virile nation can always afford to be free.

"Personally I have no fear for the future. The American people have solved greater problems than this and they have solved them rationally, justly and permanently. Other nations have clearly demonstrated that the railway problem is not insoluble, and in our own good time and way we shall yet find a solution which will safeguard the legitimate interests and rights alike of employes, stockholders and, last but not least, of the traveling and shipping public." (Applause.)

CHAIRMAN FOSTER—"I presume there are many here who have questions to ask, and I am sure the speaker will be very glad to answer them."

A MEMBER—"I would like to ask a question which perhaps has already been partially answered. There is a very lively campaign going on in this country at the present time by an organization whose name I forget (it is composed of men whose business is to sell supplies to railways); I have on my desk today one of their pamphlets in which they take the position that the time has come in this country when we must raise railway rates."

MR. VROOMAN: "Of course, this matter was thoroughly threshed out before the Interstate Commerce Commission in the rate cases, where Mr. Brandeis showed very thoroughly that no raise in rates was required for the safeguarding of any legitimate interest of any railway; and also that the railways in this country, by increasing the efficiency of the management, could easily save a million dollars a day. He offered in support of this contention the testimony of such experts as Mr. Emerson. It was proved, I believe, to the satisfaction of the commission—possibly not to the satisfaction of the railways—that the statement of Mr. Brandeis was not an exaggeration. Of course, if we allow this process of issuing fictitious securities to go on unhampered, it is certain that the roads will have to raise rates or lower wages, cut dividends or curtail the service. There is no other way out of it. But I do not believe the American people are going to stand for a continuation of this practice very much longer, and I don't think that our government ought to guarantee a profit upon the billions of dollars worth of fictitious railway stock that has been issued in this country. We do not guarantee it on mercantile enterprises, we do not guarantee it on farm lands, we do not guarantee it on anything else—then why should we guarantee a profit on fictitious railway stocks?"

A MEMBER—"Do you take the stand that all railways are over-capitalized?"

MR. VROOMAN—"Not at all, but nearly all."

A MEMBER—"I saw the statement the other day that the Alton was capitalized for \$135,000 a mile and the C., B. & Q. for \$35,000, and you could not replace the C., B. & Q. for \$35,000 a mile today."

MR. VROOMAN—"That is the reason why there should be a valuation made. Of course, a physical valuation does not cover the ground, because there are many factors which have to be taken into account. A strong argument can be made in favor of capitalizing the cost of getting the road in successful operation. That to my mind is a legitimate factor, but any franchise value or value based

on the earning power of the road is false in principle. You first give them this monopoly, the right, and then you pay them for the power they have to levy tribute on the community."

A MEMBER—"How do the rates for the same service in this country per mile for the carriage of passengers compare with those in Europe?"

MR. VROOMAN—"It is very generally recognized that passenger rates are cheaper in Europe."

A MEMBER—"For the same service?"

MR. VROOMAN—"Yes, sir. Of course, that is an approximation, because you do not have the same service. The conditions are not the same, but the majority of economists, even the most conservative economists, like Professor Hadley, take the view that passenger rates are cheaper abroad. But a great many of these conservative economists maintain, on the other hand, that freight rates are higher abroad. Of course, freight rates are vastly more important than passenger rates, but for the average haul in Prussia, 71½ miles, our rates are higher than theirs. Abroad they take the ton-mile cost of America where the average haul is three or four times what it is in Germany for illustration, and make a misleading comparison. The length of haul makes a very great difference in the cost per ton-mile, because whether you send a parcel ten miles or a thousand miles or two thousand miles, in any case you have all the work of loading and unloading, which is a large percentage of the expense. The majority of disinterested experts, who have investigated this question of comparative rates, have decided that for the average haul abroad the cost is greater than in this country."

A MEMBER—"How are wages abroad?"

MR. VROOMAN—"Wages abroad are much cheaper than in this country. That is where the government roads have a very decided advantage, at least on the surface. I don't think that they have a very great advantage as a matter of fact, for the reason that not only with the railways, but in every sort of industry,

the average American workman is very much more efficient than the average European workman. In some of our factories an average American workman can do twice as much work and sometimes three times as much work a day as the average European accomplishes. This shows the infinite difficulty of making any comparisons where conditions are not really comparable."

MR. JOSEPH CUMMINS—"You have referred already to the fact that one class of men are actually operating the railways, while another class of men are dealing with the affairs of railways in other aspects. I think it would be interesting if you would enlarge somewhat upon that fact and perhaps give us some examples. What I have in mind is this: I presume it is true that a very small number of interlocking groups of financiers have the actual control, the actual final say as to what shall be done in the financing of the railroads—what shall be done about rates so far as they can control them. And I presume it is also true that in those groups that actually control the destinies of our railroads, there are not any railroad men at all. Is it true that this situation, which has arisen in this country in the last twenty-five years, markedly is at the heart of our railway problem? Is it true that the railroads are not in the hands of railroad men running the railroads for railroad purposes, but are in the hands of financiers, who look upon the railroads not from the point of view of the public, not from the point of view of railroad men, not from the point of view of an operating industry, but from an utterly different point of view? Isn't that at the very heart of the railroad problem in this country?"

MR. VROOMAN—"It undoubtedly is, and it might be added that these financiers do not look at the problem from the point of view of the stockholders. The stockholder is a creature to be manipulated and used, just as the shipper and the passenger are. They are all pawns in the great game of high finance. The great captains of industry are great captains on the battle line; they hire a president as I would hire a stenographer, and they give him his orders. They say:

'This is the game this year. I want a dividend of eight per cent in order to float this new issue of fictitious stock.' Then the president has to cut down expenses, cut out the repair of rolling stock and every other expense that is possible to put off until the next year in order to make his eight per cent. Another year he gets an order to build up the road, and so on. The roads are being manipulated neither in the interest of the shipper, nor the passenger, nor the stockholder, but in the interests of the stock gamblers. The railways are dominated by the great financiers, by the great banking houses of the world, and the railroad men themselves are simply cogs in this great mechanism. In talking to one of them not long ago about the matter of railway accidents, I said, 'Doesn't it get on your nerves, the terrible slaughter, this useless butchery of ten thousand people in this country every year, and the maiming and the crippling of one hundred thousand more?' He replied, 'What can I do about it? I am just a cog in the machine. I am not responsible morally, because I have not any power to change it.'

"It is the system which is wrong, not the men. The majority of the railway officials in this country from the top down are splendid types of manhood, men of high competence, upon whose shoulders rests a double responsibility which they are fulfilling to the best of their ability. They are responsible to the men who employ them, and they are responsible to the public—this patient and long-suffering public, from whom so many billions of dollars have been extracted by these masters of high finance."

MR. CUMMINS—"What is the first step that should be taken to get rid of the incubus that has been forced upon the system?"

MR. VROOMAN—"I think the first step is a physical valuation. Let the Interstate Commerce Commission take the value of the railways, and then set a lot of experts at work studying the railways in this country and abroad. If we go at it in that way, we could give to the world a railway system much better than that of any European governmental system."

MR. CUMMINS—"Is the idea first to make a physical valuation of railways, and then let the government take them over and get rid of this watered stock?"

MR. VROOMAN—"Yes, sir."

MR. CUMMINS—"Then to get rid of this group of financiers that are exploiting the railroads?"

MR. VROOMAN—"Yes, sir."

MR. CUMMINS—"And then have the railroads run as a business enterprise?"

MR. VROOMAN—"Yes, sir, by the government."

At the conclusion of Mr. Vrooman's address, Mr. H. A. Whitehead related some personal experiences in railroading. He confirmed Mr. Vrooman's appreciation of the high character of American railway officials.

THE UNITED STATES AS A WORLD POWER.

Mr. Edwin D. Mead, of Boston, the eminent author and lecturer, addressed the Tuesday meeting of the City Club, January 14, 1913. As author he is best known to the American Public through his philosophical works, *Martin Luther, A Study of the Reformation; The Philosophy of Carlyle; The Roman Church and the Public Schools; and The Influence of Emerson* are from his pen. In his public addresses he has strongly advocated the principles of universal peace. In this cause he served as delegate to the peace congresses of Glasgow, Rouen, Lucerne, Munich, London and Boston. For twelve years he was editor of the *New England Magazine*, and has been honored with the presidency of the Massachusetts Good Citizenship Society and of the Twentieth Century Club of Boston. Mr. Edwin D. Mead was born in New Hampshire, September 29, 1849. He spent his boyhood on a farm and as a young man clerked in a village store, the practical schooling of so many distinguished Americans. At the age of 26 he went abroad and devoted four years to study in English and German universities. In 1898 Mr. Mead married Miss Lucia Ames, also of literary talent and prominent as the president of the Massachusetts Woman's Suffrage Association.

The Rev. A. Eugene Bartlett, presiding officer, called the meeting to order, and introduced Mr. Mead.

THE CHAIRMAN—"Fellow-Members of the City Club: We are always glad to welcome to the City Club one of Boston's best citizens. All of the men

who have come to us from Boston have been men with messages. We appreciate their coming to us, but yet we feel somehow that men from Boston need to come here on their own account. Boston knows already that Chicago is big in size and big in vice, but sometimes these men from the other cities need to come here in order to find out for themselves that Chicago is also big in virtue, and big in the determination to be better than she is to-day. Independent of the section from which a man may come, it is good for him to come here and feel the Chicago spirit in its energy and its youth, wrestling with the mighty problems with which we have to do. This is the typical American city, but it is not the rival, if you please, rather the friendly partner of Boston and New York, sharing in a great common work.

"I think that our speaker today perhaps should be reminded, although I am sure he is aware of the fact already, that this City Club is not only vitally interested in all that concerns the welfare of our own city, that we are not only thinking about honesty in the affairs of the city, state and nation, but that we members here are also interested in thinking about justice in international matters; that the City Club is larger than its name, and that it has a real patriotism.

"It is with great pleasure that I introduce to you today one of Boston's biggest and brainiest members, a man who really founded the Twentieth Century Club of Boston, whose good works have been so numerous that I will not attempt to catalogue them to you today; they are

already known to you, especially that he is the secretary of the World's Peace Foundation. It gives me great pleasure to introduce to you Mr. Edwin D. Mead of Boston." (Applause.)

Mr. Edwin D. Mead

"Mr. Chairman and Gentlemen: Your Chairman surely need not remind me, for one, that as a Bostonian I needed to come here to learn of Chicago's laudable efforts, because I am no stranger here. I come always with joy, and watch with deep interest and constancy the splendid things that you are doing here. I want especially to bring congratulations to this Chicago City Club from our City Club of Boston. I think there is nothing more encouraging in the country at the present time than the multiplication of these City Clubs. They stand pre-eminently for better cities, for a better social order and a better public spirit. Our own City Club in Boston has had a growth so phenomenal as to show us how necessary it was that Boston should have such a club. It is hardly half a dozen years old as yet, but it has already grown to a membership of between four and five thousand. It hopes presently to move from its temporary quarters—very pleasant quarters many of us find them in the old house on Beacon street—into a large new club-house of its own. And it is pleasant to come here and find you in such delightful quarters, built since I was last in Chicago. I wish you great new usefulness and satisfaction in your new home.

Peaceful Basis of Our Power

"I have promised your chairman to speak to you at this noon hour upon the subject 'The United States as a World Power.' There are two kinds of power in the world—moral power and physical power: the power of ideas and of materialism—and it is according as a nation or a man lays the emphasis upon one or the other that the record is made up at last. 'The United States as a world power' is a phrase that we hear rather often nowadays; it has become common and rather fashionable; we read many articles in the newspapers and in the magazines about the United States as a world power. And it would sometimes seem as if upon the pens and lips of men

who talk and write about the United States as a world power the popular notion is that the United States suddenly began to be a 'world power' a dozen or fifteen years ago when, with vastly superior forces, we sunk half a dozen second-rate Spanish gunboats in Manila harbor and at Santiago. Now that is a very cheap view of world power—and a very cheap view of the United States. It is my opinion that the United States began to be a world power as soon as it began to be at all; and on the whole I conceive it has been the greatest of world powers from that time to this; and on the whole, too, a power for good and a power in behalf of those policies which we believe, and most of us are glad to believe, are destined politically to control the future and shape international policies and institutions.

"Many of you are familiar with Gladstone's essay, 'Kin Beyond Seas,' one of the most interesting of his later essays; the essay in which he discussed more fully than anywhere else the relations of England to this country. He especially compared the American and English political systems, and if you are familiar with that essay, you will remember Gladstone said that to his thinking the constitution of the United States was the most remarkable political document ever struck off at a single time by the hand of man. Now that is very great praise from a very great man. I think it is entirely just and warranted praise, and temperate praise. At any rate, it is true that from that time to this there has not been an important political constitution framed by any nation which has not shown the influence of that constitution and somehow borne its impress. This is a rather remarkable fact. We had not been set up as a republic for a generation before all South America was in ferment. You know they are at this time beginning to celebrate centennials down there. Every one of those South American states was in revolution; every one had a George Washington of some kind or another, named Simon Bolivar or named something else; and they emerged from that period of revolution all made over with constitutions framed in some sort after the similitude of the constitution of the United States. Now that is

a pretty big exercise of influence as a world power. Within a generation, a whole continent made over through our exercise of influence upon the institutions and constitutions of that continent! I think that is worth recalling when men rise up and tell us that we suddenly began to be a world power a dozen years ago when we sunk half a dozen second-rate Spanish gunboats.

The Influence of the United States Upon Great Britain

"How about Great Britain, the country, from which we broke away when we achieved our independence? Think for a moment of the British colonies; think of Canada, Australia, New Zealand, South Africa and the rest. Their political institutions, with variations of course, are far more like those of the United States than like those of England herself, precisely because they were found better adapted to their democratic ideas and needs. Now that is an exertion of our influence as a world power upon the colonies of Great Britain.

"And how about Great Britain herself—what was our influence there? Many of you remember that in his later life the great English historian, Freeman, came over to this country and gave lectures. He gave a course of Lowell lectures in Boston. He spoke in New York and he spoke in Chicago, and I think the most interesting address he gave in that American visit was an address here in the city of Chicago. He was here, if I remember rightly, on Washington's birthday, and he was invited to give an address on Washington. That address is included in one of the later volumes of Freeman's collected essays and addresses. It bears the title, 'George Washington, the Expander of England.' I don't know how you felt here in Chicago when you read that address. I read it with surprise; I read the title with surprise. We Americans are not in the habit of thinking of George Washington as the expander of England. Rather the contractor, we say, for we think that by Washington and his associates in the Revolution England was shorn of her proudest possessions. But the English historian was right, and the title was correct. George Washington was the

great expander of England, because he and his associates first taught England with drastic power what the principles and policies were which she must observe in dealing with her colonies, if she expected to retain them, if she expected to hold her empire together and to expand it. They taught England that she must treat her colonies with justice; that there must be an end of oppression; that there must be no taxation without representation; that local rights must be assured; that Englishmen on this side of the water must have every right which Englishmen had at home. England learned that lesson, and because she learned it, and has observed it, the British empire today is strong. Its strength comes through the fact that every member—Canada, Australia, and all the rest—knows that they have simply to request independence to get it. Now that was a great lesson to teach and to learn; and upon that lesson are based the integrity and expansion of the British empire, which is strong because all its parts are held to the mother country simply by the bonds of loyalty and love.

"What was our influence upon Great Britain itself, the mother country? I think most of us misconceive the very character of the American Revolution. We are altogether too much inclined, and we teach the boys and girls in the schools erroneously—I am glad to say not so much as twenty years ago—to conceive the American Revolution altogether as a struggle between a united country of American patriots and a great united country on the other side of despotic and tyrannical Englishmen. Nothing of the kind was true, either on the other side or on this side. The peoples on both sides were in civil strife from beginning to end. You know how it was in this country. North Carolina was not the only colony torn with dissension through those years. In my own Massachusetts the wealthier and in some respects more influential class were on the side of the king and the ministry. They regarded the Revolution as a mistake and a wrong; and rather than live under the new government thousands of them went off to Nova Scotia and New Brunswick. It was with the greatest difficulty often that Washington and Congress kept their

little army together, precisely because of the prevalent sympathy with the British cause and lack of sympathy with the revolutionary movement.

"How was it on the other side? It was the same sort of thing. Why, gentlemen, I only need to say to you to have you recognize it, that almost every great Englishman of that time—the men whom after the century and the generation England and we alike still honor—almost every one of them was on our side, and fighting for us in Parliament while we were fighting for ourselves at Bunker Hill and Trenton. Why, the whole map of the United States, especially of the old thirteen states, is dotted with the names which are the persistent memorials of our gratitude to the men who were our friends at that time, and whose names were attached to towns, many of which were then being born, because they were our friends and we honored them. I say our map is dotted all over with towns calls Chatham, and Pittsborough, and Grafton, and Foxboro, and Conway, and Barre and Wilkes. In Massachusetts there was a town which was named Hutchinson, if I remember, after the royal governor, and they turned it into Barre. They had a struggle whether to call it Barre or Wilkes. Finally they called it Barre, after Colonel Isaac Barre, our fervent friend in Parliament. A lot of the people wanted to call it Wilkes, for John Wilkes, the brilliant English journalist who fought on our side with his pen at the time. Down in Pennsylvania they had the same kind of a struggle, and they ended their struggle by putting both names together and calling the town Wilkes-Barre.

"I say our very map is a record of our gratitude to the men in England who were then on our side. You remember their utterances; we were brought up on them as boys—the speeches of Burke and Chatham. 'I thank God,' said the great Pitt in Parliament, 'I thank God that America has resisted. If she fails, if she falls, the British constitution will fall with her.' They recognized that our cause was theirs; that we and they alike were fighting the cause of English liberalism, English progress and democracy. And it was in the red heat of that struggle that there was given to

political liberalism in England almost the greatest impulse which it ever received—an impulse which has gone on until students of politics here know well that in many respects the British government today is much more democratic than our own.

"Now that immense influence upon the British colonies and upon British political institutions and politics was a great influence by the United States at the very moment of the Revolution. It was, if you please, an influence as a world power—and, my friends, it was a momentous influence. We were affecting the course and character of English history.

American Influence in the Balkans

"There is going on at this moment a great war in southeastern Europe—that is, I am afraid it will go on tomorrow; we hope it won't, but we fear it may. At any rate, there has been a terrible war in the Balkans in the last weeks, and we know that the purpose of that war has been to thrust Turkish tyranny finally out of Europe. You remember the mutterings of the strife began four years ago, in 1909; and you remember that the storm center at that time was Bulgaria, and that the demand of Bulgaria was that her formal independence should be recognized—Turkey having maintained a kind of suzerainty up to that time. I say her formal independence, because her real independence had been achieved and been recognized as far back as 1878, I think it was, by the treaty of San Stefano, after the war between Turkey and Russia. Do you remember who were the young Bulgarian statesmen who set Bulgaria up in self-government, who her first prime minister was and some of his chief assistants? Where were they educated to their ideas of self-government and liberal politics? Why, they were educated at the little American college at Constantinople, at Robert College, on the hill overlooking the Bosphorus. So well was that known that when the great ships sailed away after the treaty of San Stefano, carrying the young men up through the Black Sea to their home to set up Bulgaria in self-government—as the great ships, I say, passed the little Amer-

ican college on the hill, every one dipped its flag, and every one with its great guns thundered its salute in reverent recognition of the American cradle of Bulgarian self-government.

"When we realize what has come from that, when we realize that out of Robert College there have been going out, and are still going out, young statesmen to make over Bulgaria, to make over Serbia, to leaven Macedonia and to affect the whole Near East—we realize, then, something of the mighty influence of the United States as a world power through American ideas, something at this moment of concern to the Balkan states worth taking note of.

"As touching the Balkans and the situation at Constantinople, I wish every one of you would read the book by our American Dr. Barton, 'Daybreak in Turkey,' which shows how, not only Robert College, but the American college at Beirut, and a dozen smaller colleges, have played so great a part in influencing the whole Near East with the ideas of Washington and Jefferson and Franklin. I wish you would read also that remarkable book, 'Fifty Years in Constantinople,' by Dr. Washburn, the president so long of Robert College. I wish you could have been, as it was my privilege to be, at the International Peace Congress at London in 1908, and heard that most interesting and remarkable statesman, Ahmed Riza, the leader of the revolutionary movement of the 'Young Turks,' who from that time to this has been the president of the Turkish Parliament. It is not through any fault of his and his associates, with their splendid ambitions and devotion, that Turkey is in the miserable plight in which she finds herself today, but simply because with all their high purposes they have not been able to carry them out against the accumulation of counteracting influences. If Ahmed Riza were here today he would say to you that the obligation of the 'Young Turk' party, the obligation of every reformer in the Near East—of all there that has in it any hope and prophecy and relish of salvation—is to American education and ideas and influence.

"Look at this wonderful thing that in this last year of grace, through the influence of the United States as a world

power—primarily, I maintain, through that influence—Turkish tyranny has been finally thrust out of Europe (for it will never come back) and a federal republic set up in China by men who have announced publicly their ambition to be to establish in China a federal republic like the United States of America. These were the very words of Sun Yat Sen, the Chinese revolutionary leader.

American Ideas in Japan.

"During the last two generations there has been born into the world a new and mighty fact. The name of that fact is Japan. Two generations ago, in 1853, your fathers here in Chicago read very little about Japan in their newspapers. There is not one of us who does not in every newspaper today read very much about Japan. No man would venture to leave Japan out of any list of the eight great world powers. What happened in Japan in 1853? Why, something American happened. An American seaman, Commodore Perry, with his ships, sailed into one of the harbors of Japan; and as a result there was framed a treaty between the United States and Japan. Thus Japan was led out of its old hermit-like condition, its isolation, into friendship and co-operation with what we call the civilized powers, the western world. It has been the United States that has exercised upon Japan the greatest power. Japan sent here—of course she sent to Europe also—for our scholars to come over and take positions in her professors' chairs; she sent her young students here to study in our colleges and universities; and a great Japanese scholar has recently said that half of the men in Japan today who are makers of public opinion, in statesmanship, in scholarship, in the great influential activities of public life, are men who have somehow felt American influence.

"When the president of the University of Kioto, who was also the president of the Japanese Academy, was in this country three or four years ago, he came to Boston, and I remember a speech of his at a dinner there. The tribute paid by this eminent Japanese scholar to the United States and her influence upon Japan would have been something to give you pride in that kind of exercise

of world power of which a country may indeed be proud. And only two months ago we had in Boston Dr. Naruse, the head of the Japanese Women's College, in which a thousand women are studying. Dr. Naruse, one who has himself felt the influences of American education, paid the highest tribute to American influences in the uplift of Japanese women and in Japanese education altogether. Why, the basis of the agricultural college in Japan was outlined by the first president of our agricultural college in Massachusetts.

"You will remember that in 1905, only seven or eight years ago, the bloodiest and costliest war of modern times—the great war between Russia and Japan on the plains of Manchuria by the Pacific Ocean—came to an end in Kittery Navy Yard in the state of Maine, one of the most amazing romances of history. It is a bit new that there is no longer such a thing as two hemispheres, but simply one round world, of which we all are parts. I say that war in Asia came to an end upon the New England coast. How did it come to an end? It came to an end through American initiative, just as it ought to have come to an end before it ever began at all, by half a dozen Japanese, among whom was Count Komura, sitting down on one side of a table, and half a dozen men with Russian names, Count Witte and others, sitting down on the other side of the table, and during the long summer days for a month there in the building in the Navy Yard by the open windows looking upon the pleasant sea, doing some sums with their slates and pencils. And these men found that the sums came out very badly; that the whole thing looked badly for Japan and for Russia, and that the war ought to be stopped—and it was stopped.

"Now, who were those Japanese statesmen? Where were Count Komura and his chief associates in that great work educated for their great task and responsibility? Why, they were educated at Harvard University, in Massachusetts. And who was the most influential Japanese statesmen here in America during that anxious summer? Why, it was Count Kaneko. And where was Count Kaneko educated for his great responsibility? Why, also at Har-

vard University. And where and how was he fitted for Harvard? Why, by four years of study in the Boston Latin School. Now those are illustrious examples, but they are only a few of scores of examples which might be given of the immense influence of the United States upon Japan in providing her with her training and her leaders. These are instances of the exercise of world power upon Japan by the United States.

The Awakening of China

"There is, at this moment, being born into the world a vastly mightier fact than the fact which is named Japan. The name of this mighty fact is China. China is waking up, and the waking up of China is the most momentous thing in modern history. We forget, gentlemen, we forget for the most part that China contains one-quarter of the population of the world; and the consensus of the competent is that the Chinese are a people of greater resources, of greater firmness, of greater bottom, of greater staying power, of greater capacity, than are the Japanese people. China is going to advance faster in the next fifty years than Japan has advanced in the last fifty, and that advance will mean vastly more for the world. And in that advance the part taken by the United States has been and is momentous. Our relations with China are happily all friendly; there is no background of an opium war between the United States and China. There is no background of seizures of territory such as have marked the history of Germany and France in China. It is all friendship; and never was there such a useful exercise of that friendship as in the return to China of the surplus of the indemnity which we assessed upon her after the Boxer uprising. You will remember that after that uprising all the nations of the West assessed heavy indemnities upon China for what their people had suffered. The indemnity which our government assessed was twenty-five million dollars. But when the claims had all been met, when the American bills were all in and settled, it proved that half the money still remained in our treasury—and we turned it back

to China. 'Common honor,' you say, 'common honesty,' simply what we ought to have done.' Yes, gentlemen, that is true; but I wish to say to you as one whose business it is to study international activities, that such exhibitions of common honor and common honesty in international dealings have not been so common up to date that they are as yet a drug in the market, so that when a conspicuous illustration occurs it is not worth taking note of. I have not read of any return of indemnity to China by Russia or Japan or Great Britain or France or Germany. I cannot say that there have not been any such returns. I am not exactly informed; I am not the bookkeeper of those nations, nor the keeper of their conscience or their purse. I have not heard that they have returned any surplus indemnity; and we know that the United States did return its surplus indemnity, about twelve million dollars. What was the result? Never was there a more conspicuous illustration of the fact that honesty is the best policy. What did China do? China said, 'because the United States has done this generous thing, we propose to devote the income of this twelve million dollars to maintaining in the American colleges and universities our picked young men, to study the literature and language there, to study the law and politics, to study the commerce and trade, to study the industries and education, and come back here, with their acquired wisdom, every one of them a shuttle in the weaving of the great web of good understanding and good will between the great republic of the West and this great republic which we are trying to make out of China.' Now, my friends, that is a wonderful thing (applause)—that is indeed a wonderful thing. And those young men have already begun to come. The stream is already flowing, in addition to the great stream already long flowing into our colleges from other sources in China; and when they are all here there will be permanently maintained out of that fund in our American colleges and universities four hundred Chinese students, the picked young men of China, to study all that is best here and to carry it back to China, which so deeply needs it. There are over eight

hundred Chinese students in our American colleges and universities today—twice as many as in all the universities of Europe. More than one-half of the revolutionary cabinet of Sun Yat Sen were men who had been educated in foreign universities, largely in American universities. A large proportion of the members of the present government of Yuan Shi-kai are men fitted in universities outside of China, largely American universities. The Chinese revolution has been a revolution by scholars; and those scholars got their inspiration and their self-governing ideas in high measure here in the universities of the United States.

"I was speaking last night at the University of Michigan in Ann Arbor, and I dined there with their Cosmopolitan Club. I learned to my surprise that there are in the University of Michigan sixty Chinese students—more in the University of Michigan than in any other single university—and several of those men are supported out of the indemnity fund. We have some of them in Massachusetts, at Harvard and elsewhere, and they are scattered all over the country. I wish that you knew these men as well as it has become my privilege and happiness to know them. Twice recently we have had a dozen or fifteen of them in our home; and could you talk with these young men, could you mark their beautiful spirit, their gentle manners, their high-mindedness, their thirst for knowledge, their public spirit, their ambition to serve China and carry over there all that is best in the United States, you would realize how immense the influence of the United States as a world power has been and may be in the making over of China.

"I say I know of nothing in human history more impressive, more momentous, than the fact that, at the same time, through the force in such high degree of American ideas, the Turkish tyranny should be thrust out of Europe, and a federal republic be set up in China by men who profess as their highest ambition the establishment in China of a federal republic like the United States of America. My friends, beside this the talk of the United States becoming a world power because it sunk half a dozen

second-rate Spanish gunboats a dozen years ago—why, my friends, that is so trivial, is such levity, that it makes serious and sober Americans blush with shame.

The International Scope of Cosmopolitan Clubs

"I spoke of having dined in Ann Arbor last night with the Cosmopolitan Club. I don't know how familiar many of you are here with the Cosmopolitan Club movement in American universities. It is, to my thinking, one of the most hopeful movements in modern education. That movement started only half a dozen years ago up at the University of Wisconsin. It spread next to the University of Michigan, then to Cornell University—and there are now such Cosmopolitan Clubs in thirty American universities. The largest one is at Cornell, a club of 250 members already, with a club-house of its own costing thirty thousand dollars, dedicated last year by a noble speech by Andrew D. White, the Nestor of the great international movement in the United States. Now what are these Cosmopolitan Clubs of students? They are clubs made up two-thirds of foreign students and one-third of American students. It is a wonderful witness to the cosmopolitan character of our university constituencies that we can have clubs of 150 or 200 members in our universities, two-thirds of them foreign students. They hold regular meetings—this week a Japanese meeting, a fortnight ago a German meeting, a fortnight hence a Chinese meeting. These young people coming together to learn of the customs, songs and sundry usages and ideas of the different nations, are leagued together, now 2,500 of them in our American universities, to promote international good understanding and good will. They publish their monthly magazine, issued up at Madison, Wis., and I assure you, gentlemen, that there is no magazine which comes to my desk that I read more faithfully than that I read it every month from beginning to end, and there is nothing bigger with hope and with prophecy than this little magazine issued by the Cosmopolitan students, the record and program of their movement.

"The Cosmopolitan Clubs have reached out to Europe and affiliated with similar organizations there. Two years ago one of the splendid Cornell men went over to Berlin to carry on his higher studies in physics and electricity; and he carried with him his Cosmopolitan Club enthusiasm. He found fifteen hundred foreign students in Berlin, and he set to work and organized a Cosmopolitan Club there; when I was in Berlin a year ago I found it had two hundred members. I went to Leipsic, which was my own German university, and there was another; and since then one has been organized at Munich and another at Gottingen, and another at Heidelberg, and another at Bonn. Already, I dare say, a thousand German students are leagued in this great movement, and this through the work of this young American, carrying on his part of the influence of the United States as a world power. Last spring that devoted young American scholar started out on a missionary tour, going to Prague and Vienna and Budapest, and down through the Balkan states, meeting little groups of students at Belgrade, Sofia and Bukarest, and founding a Cosmopolitan Club at Robert College. He stirred up the young men of Athens, inviting them to send delegates over here to the International Congress of Students, which, for the first time, meets this year in America. I had a letter only a fortnight ago saying that already they have in sight thirty German students who are coming over to that noteworthy gathering.

"Now, my friends, the pregnancy, the power of this movement which is taking hold of the young students of the world, so largely through American influence, the pregnancy and power of this thing, I say, are incalculable. But the greatest Cosmopolitan Club in the world is the United States of America itself. Never since time began was there such a population as this of ours, made up of all races, yet all pulling together, working together in harmony in the main, for common purposes and common ends.

How the Tidings of American Freedom Reach Distant Lands

"Having spent several years of my student life in England and in Germany,

maintaining always close touch with both countries and loving both, I have watched with pain and sorrow the strain between those countries in the last six or eight years—I am glad to say, less now than it was—and I have felt constrained to say when my English friends have said to me, 'If the worst should ever come to the worst, and there should be, which God forbid, a war between England and Germany, we should count upon you over in the United States to stand by the mother country'—I say I have felt it a duty to reply, 'Do you know what the mother country of the United States is?' Speaking of the year 1900—and I suppose the proportions have not much changed since, although the numbers have increased—but speaking of 1900, we have some twenty millions of people of English blood, eighteen millions of German blood—very little difference—whole states like Wisconsin three-quarters of whose people are of German blood, great cities like Milwaukee, St. Louis, and I think your own Chicago, predominantly German; we have fourteen millions of Irish and Scotch blood; half as many Swedes as in Sweden; half as many Norwegians as in Norway; half as many Danes as in Denmark; New York the fourth Italian city in the world with 500,000 Italians, the fifth German city in the world, the greatest Jewish city ever heard of in human history—the Jerusalem of Isaiah and John the Baptist was not in it with New York city. I don't know whether you realize it, but more than one-half of the total number of Jews in the United States are in the city of Greater New York—a million of them. New York, you see, is the New Jerusalem. I say, out of this conglomerate are we made. And the greatest influence of all has not been these spectacular things which I have hastily run over; it has been the silent, pervasive influence of the thousands and millions of letters which during the last two generations have filled the mail bags, going to the old homes from the new homes here, and falling like snowflakes, into the little homes and the little villages beside the Rhine and the Elbe and the Danube and the Po, telling the old folks at home of a new land where there are free schools,

and free churches, and a free press, and free assembly, and free libraries, and free speech, and all the other great institutions which make up this free country.

"My friends, talk of the influence of the United States as a world power—this has been the thing which has been leavening the world and sowing everywhere the seeds of that democracy which we believe is destined everywhere to triumph, and through whose triumph alone universal peace will come. Because, friends, there will never be universal peace in this world until there is justice, and there will never be justice in the world until men have their rights, until there is self-government, until there is some approach to a dominant democracy.

The Peace Movement

"We are thankful that the great peace movement had its origin here. The founders of this republic, Washington and Jefferson and Franklin, were the most illustrious group of men in the world in their great time, who stood for the substitution of the system of law for the system of war in the settlement of international disputes. The first peace society in human history was the Penn Society of New York, and the second was founded in my own city of Boston, both of them not a century ago, in 1815. From these two American centers the great peace movement has spread around the world, until at last we have come to the day of Hague conferences made up of the official representatives of all nations, simply seeking to organize the family of nations as we here have organized this family of states. This is not simply an American claim; it is European tribute to America. I have heard it repeatedly from German and French and English leaders of our movement—that all that the world needs for international organization is to have just such an application to world affairs of the three principles of interstate free trade, an interstate supreme court, and interstate federation, as we have instituted in this family of states in our national system.

"I think we all owe a great debt to President Taft for his splendid effort last

year for the unreserved treaties of arbitration with Great Britain and France (applause), an effort temporarily checked. But it is for us to see to it that such treaties do not long wait, that this country continue to lead the world as it has led in the past in the great work of arbitration. Let us see also that the logic of the situation is respected, and that the machinery for settling international disputes by force is made to decrease in proportion to the great increase of the machinery for the settlement of disputes by law and by justice. Let us put a stop to the big navy craze here in the United States. There is no proper place for it in this republic. Let us raise public opinion against this attempt on the part of certain men in Congress to pass the militia pay bill—an attempt to bring the whole militia of the country under payment from the national treasury, making our militia a part of a national army. This country has

no excuse for things of this kind; they are un-American, undemocratic, false to the true principles of progress, false to our struggling sister nations. We have a great record in constructive things, and we ought to lead the nations of the world in the reduction of the tremendous armaments which are exhausting the world.

"We are the strongest and safest of nations; never so safe as today. We can afford great experiments and bold policies. The principles of our federal republic are the principles which need to be expanded into application to international affairs to give us the kind of organized world which we want. Our very constitution is a prophecy; our history an inspiration. The whole world looks to us for leadership, and it is for us to work ever more and more to make the United States a true prophecy and preparation for the united world." (Applause.)

The City Club Bulletin

Published by the CITY CLUB OF CHICAGO, 315 Plymouth Court

DWIGHT L. AKERS, Editor*

VOLUME VI

MONDAY, FEBRUARY 17, 1913

NUMBER 13

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"PREVENTIVE MEASURES AGAINST MENTAL BREAKDOWN"

The Illinois Society for Mental Hygiene has been recently incorporated under the laws of Illinois, and is rapidly gaining a substantial footing. Despite a lack of adequate funds, the society is doing much good work in our community among the incipient insane and the feeble-minded. The usefulness of the society, its place in modern life, and its great value in charitable work may be seen in the following abstract from the annual report of the society for 1912:

"Mr. A., a man of 45, Swedish, with a wife and four children, all of working age and employed, had been for years a hatmaker and good husband and father. But several years ago he became afflicted with a partial paralysis of the arm—a disease peculiar to his occupation. No longer able to do this work in which he was skilled and unable to obtain a living wage in anything he attempted, he became discouraged and addicted to the use of alcoholics. His wife found it necessary to seek employment and his family became more and more disgusted and unsympathetic in their treatment of him. He attempted suicide twice. After the second attempt his wife took out commitment papers, and it was while in the Detention Hospital we came to know him. Being deprived of alcohol, he cleared up mentally and was not

a proper subject for commitment. His family refused to allow him to come home, so we enlisted the interest of a Swedish charitable worker, who gave him employment as a janitor in one of their missions, also friendly encouragement. This was eight months ago. He has saved money and, with renewed health, contemplates establishing himself in his old business of hatmaking."

From the same annual report we reprint a statement showing the financial status of the society at present, and also the summing up of the year's activities.

RECORD OF WORK DONE BY THE ILLINOIS SOCIETY FOR MENTAL HYGIENE DURING THE YEAR 1912.

County Court cases.....	2,238
Charity cases	314
After-care cases	42
Voluntary commitment cases.....	10
Total number records filed.....	2,618
Telephone calls	1,490
Office calls	1,379
Calls in homes of patients.....	3,884

TREASURER'S ANNUAL REPORT, DECEMBER 31, 1912.

Receipts.

Balance from 1911.....	\$ 262.17
Subscriptions	3,458.70
Associate memberships	108.50
Refunds by patients	20.55
Deficit December 31, 1912.....	632.11
	<hr/>
	\$4,482.03

*Carlos Colton Daughaday, Acting Editor.

Expenses.

Salaries	\$2,841.21
Office expense	682.56
Printing, postage, etc.....	205.36
Expenses of patients.....	442.72
General expense	310.18
	<u>\$4,482.03</u>

LEVERETT THOMPSON,

Treasurer.

The Illinois Society for Mental Hygiene desires the sympathetic co-operation of all citizens of Chicago who are interested in the betterment of the condition of the insane, and who see the wisdom of preventive measures against mental disease.

Funds are respectfully solicited for the following purposes:

(1) The employment of ten additional nurses at once.

(2) The foundation and endowment of a psychopathic hospital.

Note: This hospital has been promised if three-quarters of the yearly running expenses will be guaranteed.

(3) The establishing of a hospital in the country for patients whose mental trouble is largely due to a run-down physical condition.

Note: The land for this project has been offered free if money can be raised to build a small hospital.

(4) Maintenance of an emergency fund to tide over deserving patients by paying for board, transportation, etc.

Communications to the Illinois Society for Mental Hygiene may be addressed to Miss Elnora E. Thompson, agent of the society, No. 116 South Michigan Avenue.

Mr. Stephen T. Mather, presiding at the meeting of the City Club January 24, 1913, opened the discussion of Mental Hygiene with the following address:

THE CHAIRMAN—"In the first place I desire to thank the City Club, its officers and directors, for the privilege extended this week to the Illinois Society for Mental Hygiene of holding conferences here in the Club House, as well as for the opportunity of displaying the very interesting exhibit which is now in the 'Lounge.' Perhaps those members of the City Club who have not yet seen the exhibit would do well to look it over. I do not believe that you realize the work that is being done by the Society for

Mental Hygiene. In order that you may understand this work more clearly, it would be well if I read the Articles of Incorporation, setting forth the object of the Society:

"The object of the Illinois Society for Mental Hygiene is to co-operate with public and private agencies in improving the condition of the insane, to aid in the after-care of patients discharged from the hospitals for the insane, to secure data regarding social conditions provocative of mental breakdown, to publish and circulate information which may help in avoiding mental disease, to carry on any other proper work tending to secure and conserve the mental health of men, women and children, and to enlist the interest and co-operation of others therein.

"The Illinois Society has accomplished a great deal. The Society already has four nurses, three of whom are paid by the County Court to investigate cases prior to commitment, and it employs also a superintendent and one stenographer. During the year 1912 the society made a record of 2,618 cases, had 1,490 telephone and 1,379 office calls in regard to patients, and made 3,884 calls in the homes of patients. We have also established a bi-monthly clinic, in connection with after-care work in the Kankakee State Hospital, conducted by Dr. Wilgus in the office of the Society.

"There have been here this week a number of men connected with Eastern institutions who have spoken at the meetings held under the auspices of the City Club. Besides these distinguished visitors, a number of our own men from the state of Illinois have been in attendance. The speakers today are men who have been giving their attention to the question of mental health. The first one whom I will have the privilege of calling upon is Dr. Frank P. Norbury, Illinois State Alienist, who will tell us something of the broader work of the National Society of Mental Hygiene, as well as something of the work that is being done here in this state. It is with pleasure that I introduce to you Dr. Norbury." (Applause.)

Dr. Frank P. Norbury

"The subject of mental hygiene is one that has been creating a good deal of interest, especially during the past ten years, by reason of the fact that there

has been created a greater interest in the clinical side of mental disease. This is largely due to the work of the clinics of Europe, especially those of Germany, where there has been established upon a thorough clinical basis the consideration of all factors entering into the subject of mental disease. From these clinics, naturally, the work has radiated into other countries, and America was not long in adopting the plans and purposes of such a system, and inaugurating a system of instruction that is now, under the law, established in most of the leading schools and hospitals of this country. It has given a new aspect to the subject—one that reverts back to the essential principles, almost to the beginning of the race itself.

Man's Rightful Heritage, a Sound Mind in a Sound Body

"In a story now appearing in the *Century Magazine*, Frances Hodgson Burnett says: 'At the beginning of the world it is only reasonable to suppose that human beings were made with healthy bodies and healthy minds.' Now that, of course, was the original scheme of the race. Given the power to make a man, one would naturally suppose that, even though he were an amateur, the maker would make that man straight both inside and out. The problem that we are confronted with today is the question of the deviations from the normal that have occurred from time to time, as exemplified in mental disease. Let me say to you also that mental disease is only one part of the many deviations with which we have to contend in considering the general subject of disease.

"Mental disease proper is a subject which has an important bearing on the happiness and welfare of all human beings. Not one of us right here in this room but who, under proper conditions, would become subject to mental disorder. Of course, I do not mean to say that that rule absolutely applies without provocative conditions. The human race, as a race, tends toward the preservation of all that is best, but nevertheless, under appropriate conditions, either through disease, accident, or faulty living, it is possible that a deviation ultimately resulting in mental disease may occur in the life

of any individual. Consequently, it is of great importance that we should consider this subject from a broader and wider viewpoint. Mental disease has become a subject of great importance, not only from the standpoint of public health, but also from the standpoint of sociology and economics, and in all of the graver and essential sciences that pertain directly to human welfare.

Psychology an Aid to the Student of Mental Disease

"Mental diseases, naturally, have attracted a great deal of attention because of the renaissance of psychology, the central science about which all human activity must revolve, and toward which all must center. Largely through this renaissance of psychology, we are getting this great subject away from its metaphysical conception and placing it upon a practical working basis. By similar methods have been evolved all the great schemes for the benefit of the human race through sociology, economics and public health measures. America has not been behind in this work. It has followed closely the work that has been outlined in German clinics, and has followed the psychological doctrines of the great teacher Wundt. There recently died in America one of the greatest exponents of human psychology, William James, the brother of Henry James, the novelist. William James probably did more to popularize psychology than any other one writer, Wundt not excepted. It was said of him that he placed psychology on a firm basis as a philosopher, though he wrote as a novelist; while his brother, Henry James, as a novelist, wrote as a philosopher. So you see that through this rare combination of talents the James family has made a wonderful record in the line of philosophic and scientific writing. It is largely due to the popularization of psychology, and its significant relation to human welfare, that we have the great movements that tend toward the betterment of all conditions, social, economic and otherwise.

Common Inclination to Shun the Subject of Insanity

"Mental hygiene, therefore, has placed itself upon a firm basis. The national movement, now endowed and having the

same purposes as the Illinois society which have been outlined here by your chairman, has perhaps a little bit wider scope in that it wishes to introduce this great movement into all centers of educational and social work. In Illinois a branch of the national movement has been created, and I think it has made wonderful progress in the brief time the organization has been perfected. Some of the workers here seem a bit discouraged; I have noticed this fact at the meetings of the convention, all of which I have attended. But I say to you we should never be discouraged in any movement that tends toward the betterment of the human race. I have been in the work a long time and know the conditions we have to meet. I have found that when we approached the subject of insanity, or mental disorders in any way, people are rather inclined to shun it. For some reason—I do not know why—it seems to be a subject which they loathe, which they do not like to get near. Consequently there is a great deal of misinformation and ignorance as to what our own state is doing in work along this line. I have seen the evolution of this plan; I have been in the work from an interne up, through all the different grades, and I am acquainted with both the internal problems and the external problems. Also sixteen years of work in private hospitals has given me an insight into the problem from the general practitioner's viewpoint. Consequently I can speak from experience and can say to you with pleasure that there is apparent a growing confidence, not only in the institutions, but in all movements that tend to increase and deepen our knowledge on all subjects bearing upon mental hygiene.

Nip Mental Disorder in the Bud

"Mental hygiene has for its object the preservation of mental health, the integrity of the mind—a well-defined purpose and idea. To properly present that would mean that we should primarily consider preventive means. The ounce of prevention ordinarily is worth the pound of cure; but in mental disease it is worth the ton of cure, because it is in the early hours, so to speak, of mental disease that we must get hold of the patient if we expect to accomplish results. Of course

there are well-defined mental disorders which are essentially chronic from their very beginning; but there are many cases which, if they could have been early recognized and have had treatment and care in their incipency, would not have resulted in the patient's first attack, which, perhaps still lacking treatment, goes on and makes of him a mental wreck. The history of institutions reveals many of these neglected cases, and especially is this true in metropolitan districts.

"The alienist in a metropolitan district has to contend with more conditions of interference with early recognition and prevention than exist in the rural districts. So also the alienist in state institutions finds it much harder to gain the confidence of a patient from the city than of one from the country. From my experience at the Kankakee State Hospital, and knowing, too, that the internal conditions here in your own county bear me out, I can say that I have had more to contend with from patients coming from the metropolitan districts in creating confidence on their part, than I had in cases where the patients came from the rural districts. In the Jacksonville State Hospital, in which I also served, my experience was the same. I know that this fact holds true not only of Illinois, but of Pennsylvania, New York and Massachusetts—the great states which have done so much to put mental disease on a firm scientific basis.

"With such a condition existing, you can readily see that in order to create confidence in a patient we must have ways and means of getting into touch with all conditions that contribute to and are a part of the subject—primary conditions that in turn bring about secondary conditions resulting in mental disease. The object of the Society for Mental Hygiene is to create confidence on the part of the people, to urge them to adopt prompt and early care, and to diffuse such knowledge as will enable the people themselves to understand what are the causes of mental disease, and what can be done in their early treatment.

Conditions in Cook County

"This is especially true here in your city. The conditions in Cook county,

perhaps, are not fully realized; in fact, I know they are not. They are realized, however, by those who have to deal with mental disease—Dr. Kuh, Dr. Patrick and Dr. George, for instance—and by all who see these cases in clinics, schools and homes. They realize that it is of the greatest importance that the patient receive early care, and that he realize what it means to have early care. There are very many conditions that hinder progress along this line, and I think one of the greatest drawbacks, one that will ultimately be corrected, is the method of commitment from Cook County. You have a common detention hospital to which all patients are sent, where court is held once a week, and where the patients, unfortunately, have to appear before a jury. That system is essentially legal, of course, and right there is where one of the difficulties exist—the interlocking of legal and clinical methods. This system does not fully get the results desired, and the patient himself is not properly considered. The patient is lost sight of in the tangle, and sometimes lost sight of to the degree that it is a positive detriment and hindrance to his case. In your court a patient is given about two minutes' consideration as he passes through before the jury. Forty patients or more are committed in the morning, perhaps, without proper study of their histories, with only perfunctory methods of inquiry, diagnosis and prognosis; and the patient, we might say, is more or less 'railroaded through.' He is simply given as much consideration as two minutes will allow, which is indeed little time for so important a matter.

"The Society for Mental Hygiene is helping to remove and remedy the hasty examination in court by getting statistical data on the environmental conditions under which the patients live, etc., and submitting such knowledge to the jury in order that a better understanding may be had of the true nature of each case. The time is coming, I believe, when your court methods will be improved, and this improvement will be established along lines now in effect in New York City. Let us consider these improvements of which we stand in such need.

More Kindness Needed

"The method of detention is one that could be improved, the method of transportation could be improved, and all of those methods which are clinical, not sociological, and have a bearing upon the ultimate outcome of the patient's condition. Remember, I look at it from the patient's viewpoint—the viewpoint of the under dog, so to speak. That is just the point we need to view it from. We want to hear what the worm has to say, as well as the bird. We want to know what we are going to do for the patient's welfare. I look at it from the viewpoint of the ultimate outcome, the destiny of the patient, what his mental integrity means now, what it will mean to him in the future. And when we study the subject from that viewpoint we get a very different aspect indeed.

"Let us go back through the world's literature, and we shall see that this subject is something that is not new, but, on the contrary, very old. Those of you who have read Horace doubtless remember his telling of the young man who stood on the banks of the River Tiber, and, overcome with the world's cares and seeing few possibilities of relief, sought to drown all by drowning himself in the waters of the river. Horace, walking along the bank of the river, saw the young man in his distress, and, trying to console him, said something like this: 'Remember, we all have our minor mental maladies.' So we have! And if we look at them from this viewpoint, trying to see what is wrong with ourselves, and what can be done to remedy it, we shall probably better understand what it means to the patient when he is confronted with the question, from a legal viewpoint, as to what his destiny shall be.

"Go further in literature, and you come to Balzac. You remember how he tells about the troubles of the young man who afterward became the premier of France. This young man was on the point of taking his own life under circumstances very similar to those described by Horace. As the despondent youth was climbing a hill he chanced to see a white flower on the hillside. It reminded him of home, for just the same kind of flower grew on a hillside near the home of his boyhood. He climbed

up from the road and picked the flower, put it in his pocket and continued on his way. It so chanced that a priest, who was going up the hill at the time, overtook the youth. By reason of his reverence's weight, the little donkey hitched to the chaise could not pull him up the hill, so the prelate had to walk. He walked beside our young man, and, seeing his distress, engaged him in conversation. Now through the beauty of that wild flower, and through the consoling words of that Christian priest, the youth took heart and his destiny was changed. First aid mental hygiene had reached him in time and it saved for France an eminent man.

"Again, Oliver Wendell Holmes tells a medical story; I do not know if it appears in his general literature, but I think it does. He tells of a young man who was confronted by the problem of what his destiny should be, so far as his family relationship was concerned. He was on the eve of marrying, but was advised by his family physician not to marry, that it would mean destruction to his home and to his family. He presented the matter to the young woman concerned. She was a school teacher of good intellect and well balanced, and she said to him: 'Well, we will take a chance. We will go at our problem from the viewpoint of mental hygiene, and see what can be done.' So they were married, and out of that prompt first aid on the part of that good woman grew up one of the families that today stands prominent in medicine, law, and politics in the state of Massachusetts. These are facts, gentlemen, and it only goes to show what can be done in mental hygiene, if we but realize the situation in time. Such things can be done right here in Chicago, and I hope they will be done.

Proposed Psychopathic Hospital for Chicago

"I think Chicago needs—and essentially needs—a psychopathic hospital. It needs a hospital that shall be the center of all the activities which pertain to the problems of the insane. I dislike exceedingly to use the word 'insane'; I think it is a word that should become obsolete. It is a misnomer, and the condition ought to be designated as one of

'mental disorder.' All of the problems of mental disorder should be worked out at this center of activity, this psychopathic hospital. Here your court should be located. I hope when our new constitutional convention is brought about it will eradicate from the constitution the Packard clause, which provides that every man who is to be deprived of his liberty shall have a hearing before a jury of his peers. That means, apparently, we must have a jury under all conditions; but in cases of mental disorders we have also a health problem. That health problem demands that in this court there shall be an inquiry into the case from the medical viewpoint, from the viewpoint of the patient's welfare, and shall put about him only just so much legal restriction as will protect his property rights, the rights of his family, and the rights of his citizenship. When you do that, in my estimation, you are doing all that should be required by law, and besides you will then give the patient an opportunity to see for himself that it is for his own welfare to receive medical care.

The Social Service Feature

"In this psychopathic hospital should be located the central court, and there should also be a social service department. The social service department is now represented by your Society for Mental Hygiene, but it should be extended in numbers and in other ways which will help in getting all the necessary data that will enable first aid to be given promptly. The data so gathered involves the consideration of environment, housing, and such factors as are primarily part of the great clinical problem, not only as far as mental disease is concerned, in its pure medical conception—I mean, so far as disease *per se* is concerned—but this data should also include personal history as evidenced by social conditions, family life, the economic situation and the stress and strain under which the individual is laboring. All such considerations should be investigated and thoroughly understood. That is a part of the work of the social service movement, which is represented by the Society for Mental Hygiene.

The Conservation of Childhood

"In this psychopathic hospital should also be located a mental clinic, to which patients can come and receive prompt first-aid for their 'border line' condition, the incipient condition which may not at once necessitate commitment to a hospital; a clinic where, through proper supervision on the part of an intelligent physician who sees the problem in its entirety, they may receive proper first-aid care. From this clinic, then, a great beneficent influence would radiate through your state. Furthermore, in this clinic there should be the means of instructing patients how to live in order that they may not become victims of mental disease. Here also should be located the psychological clinic for the study of the under-average child, the subject so ably presented here yesterday by Dr. Towne, our State Psychologist, when he spoke of the work of Illinois in helping the under-average child, in the conservation of childhood, and all that that great subject means. Your public school teachers know well what it means. Under the compulsory education law all children must enter the public school. Among their numbers there is found a large percentage of children who are under average intellectually, and who must be studied in order that their lives may be conserved. The conservation of childhood is, and should be, a part of the mental hygiene movement. It is an essential part, because we know that the truth 'as the twig is bent, so the tree is inclined,' applies to the child. If we can only get hold of that twig and bend it properly, under proper environmental and educational influences, we shall see results that are definite and genuine.

General Practitioner of Future to Have Wider Knowledge of Mental Diseases

"In this hospital also should be located a clinic for the instruction of undergraduates in medicine. You have a great medical student body here in Chicago. They come here, as you know, to receive instruction from your able schools; and yet there is not a place, except the detention hospital, with its present inadequate facilities, where they may get instruction fully and completely along the lines I have indicated. This instruction should be made compulsory, as is now being

done in England and in some of the States of this country.

"One of the greatest difficulties today is the inadequate information which physicians themselves have regarding the question of mental disease. As a consulting physician, and as a hospital physician, I have actually found many times that the intelligent layman has a better grasp of the subject of mental disease than many of our physicians—a sad truth indeed. What we need is the instruction of the student body along the lines of mental disease; intelligent instruction by daily contact with the patient; bedside instruction, where you can see the patient, recognize that he is an individual, and recognize his personality and his characteristics. The study of mental disease is the study of the individual. It is a study of environment as well; but in the last analysis it is the individual whom we must know. Until we do know him personally, we cannot grasp all the factors that enter into the problem of mental disease. The advance that has been made, largely through this renaissance of psychology, has been toward putting the patient upon a psychological basis. Looking at the patient as a psychological unit, capable of being analyzed for the betterment of his condition, is one of the great advancements in the study of mental disease.

Ideal Clinic for Mental Diseases

"I hope the time is coming when the state, county and city may unite in establishing this ideal clinic which I am trying to picture to you—a clinic that will include the Psychopathic Institute of Illinois; which will be a central point for graduate students; where the physician may come and get instruction that will enable him to go out into his community better equipped for treating mental disease. The Psychopathic Institute is now being used for the instruction of physicians in our state service, which is a wonderful incentive and stimulus in the work toward securing proper care for the insane. But it should go further, and the time is now here when the scope and work of that institution should be enlarged, not only for the betterment of our state but for the whole Central West, where instruction is needed along these

lines. Thus it is evident that this institute and this clinic will be of very great value.

Commercial Value of Mental Hygiene

"To show you that this proposition has a commercial value, let me cite you the example of the clinic at Giessen, Germany. They have a clinic there with wide-open doors, come easy and go easy. It is not encumbered by legal entanglements, that part being last, while the medical side stands first, and yet there are just enough legal restrictions to insure proper care of the individual. Mental hygiene has advanced so far in that clinic that a hospital, at one time proposed for that district, has never been built. Why? Because they have not needed it. The mental hygiene movement in that little locality has simply postponed the enlargement of their hospital facilities. The people have become so enthused and so confident in the methods worked out in that clinic that the hospital has not been deemed necessary. A description of this clinic is contained in the report made upon these clinics in Germany by the Royal Commission, sent out from Scotland and England, to investigate conditions on the continent.

Decrease in Number of Insanity Cases

"What is done in Germany can be done here, and we may well make use of the valuable example of Giessen. Unfortunately, however, the opinion prevails that mental disease here is on the increase, and that we, as a people, stand upon the verge of an abyss, ready to sink down into the depth of destruction and despair. It is not so. Based upon statistical data, carefully compiled, not only here, but in England, Scotland, France and Germany, it is shown that an intelligent conception of mental disease, combined with early care, has been a means of reducing instead of increasing the number of cases. I am familiar personally with the conditions in Pennsylvania, and Dr. Woodbury, who has charge of the work there, assured me in a recent communication that in Pennsylvania the number of insane committed was actually decreasing, the decrease being due, not to the unfortunate conditions here encountered, such as legal entanglements, etc., but to the

hopeful fact that there are not so many cases of mental disease as there were before. I have been going over the statistics, not only of England and Scotland, but have carried my research through to New Zealand, New South Wales and Australia, and I find the same condition prevails.

"As regards mental health in this country, and in our own state of Illinois, we stand on as good a footing as does any other country. In our own state, in some of our rural communities, there is an actual decrease in the number of cases sent to the hospital. With this condition prevailing, it shows clearly that there is something going on for the betterment of the race; and if we will only extend the movement, so that the people may become familiar with all of the factors that enter into the situation, I assure you that we shall see encouraging results. When it is known that practically fifty-five per cent of the cases that enter our hospitals are preventable cases, coming within the lines of alcoholism and syphilis, remediable diseases which in their nature predispose to mental disorder—it is to be hoped that, with the diffusion of knowledge on this subject, the percentage will decrease. I am optimistic; I believe that such will be the outcome.

"There are many elements entering into the question of the cause of mental disease, among which loom large those of heredity and environment. As Mrs. Burnett stated in her story, the stock was originally strong and healthy; but it has deviated, and will probably continue to deviate. We may always expect a tendency that way, for 'to err is human,' and so long as we err we shall have mental disease.

Eugenics and Mental Hygiene

"I wish to take just a moment to mention the great 'eugenics movement,' which is now becoming world wide in its importance. That is another feature along the line of prevention, and will be an important part in the work of the Society for Mental Hygiene. The 'eugenics movement' has come to stay, although you may make fun of it and laugh at it. We breed our fine stock, cattle, chickens, etc., along eugenic lines. We raise plants and Burbank improves his cactus

along the lines of knowing how to breed, upon the Mendellian theory, or other theories of good stock. Verboeck, in his little book, tells us that in the great melting pot of this American nation all the nations of the world are mingled and out of it will come the best stock that the world has ever seen. This has been the work of civilization since the tribal days, as Benjamin Kidd so long ago taught us. The movement is instinctive and, therefore, takes us back to moral psychology, to centralization and natural selection, working out the problem of the betterment of the race.

"Man proposes, we say, but God disposes; and so it is in breeding. We can breed stock and such things, and do it well; but when we come to human stock there is another element enters in—the only element that distinguishes mankind from brutes, namely—love. That means man's emotional life; it means his affections. As David Starr Jordan said, in his conservation address at Indianapolis: 'We may preach eugenics and talk eugenics, but still the man with one lung will marry the girl next door!' The love element enters in and so it will always be. However, we believe that there is a destiny that shapes our ends, rough-hew them as we will; and that destiny lies largely in the feature of natural selection. What it is we do not know, but we know that it seeks to preserve what is best in human attributes.

"This, then, is the movement of mental hygiene. It is a wide movement; it is a great movement. I am pleased to know that it is working out so well here in Chicago; and I am pleased to see such a body of men as this co-operating in the movement, and seeking to know more of the work which we are trying to do." (Great applause.)

THE CHAIRMAN—"In connection with this mental hygiene movement there have been other state societies organized in New York, Connecticut and Illinois. In New York the movement is connected with the State Charities Aid Association; and we have with us here today Mr. Everett Ellwood, executive secretary of the Committee on Mental Hygiene of the State Charities Aid Association of New York. I take pleasure in introducing Mr. Ellwood."

Mr. Everett Ellwood

"I think the state of Illinois, and particularly Chicago, is to be congratulated upon having a man at the head of the insane hospitals who is taking such an active part in the prevention of insanity as is Dr. Norbury. I think also the Illinois society should be congratulated in having Mr. Mather take such an active part in the preventive movement. This meeting today, to my mind, is the most promising and the most representative of any of the meetings thus far held in the conference this week. It is very encouraging to me, coming in from the outside, to see so many representative men interested in the subject in which I am so deeply interested, and for which I am working.

"While sitting here I have tried to decide what I could tell you in a few moments that would be of interest to you, and also have sufficient definiteness to stick. The work in New York began about three years ago. We started out very largely upon the proposition that man is a reasoning animal, and if he knows dangers he will, to a large extent at least, avoid them. We felt that a wide distribution of the knowledge of causes of insanity would result in many cases of insanity being prevented. So we began putting a little more emphasis, possibly, upon the educational propaganda than other state societies have done, due in part to the fact that our local conditions seemed to warrant it. There was more provision for the after-care of the insane, the social service end, in New York state than has been made in some of the other states, so we felt justified in starting out upon an educational propaganda, an educational campaign, more dignified in a way, possibly, than some of the other campaigns which have swept this country from time to time, because, as somebody has said, it will never do to make people crazy about insanity. (Laughter.)

Excessive Use of Alcohol Predisposes to Insanity

"We have used the press, we have used the magazine article, we have used the printed page, the illustrated lecture, public meetings assembled for the purpose of discussing mental hygiene, and addresses before clubs and organizations brought

together primarily for other purposes; and in this way have sought to give to the people of the state of New York a broader knowledge of what are the principal preventable causes of insanity. We have said time and time again, whenever occasion offered, that a conservative estimate of the part played by alcohol in the production of insanity is important. In New York state, our best alienists have said that ten per cent of all mental diseases there are due to the excessive use of alcohol. An additional six per cent are, in the main, due to the excessive use of alcohol. Therefore, it is a conservative estimate, I believe, to say that practically one sixth—that is, sixteen per cent—of the insanity in New York state is due to the excessive use of alcohol. Dr. Norbury can tell you whether people drink as much in Chicago as they do in New York, and what part is played by alcohol in the production of insanity in this state.

Other Causes of Mental Breakdown

"In the second place, we have put as the next great preventable cause of insanity the disease of syphilis. The figures for New York state show that seventeen per cent of the men, and eight per cent of the women, admitted to our state hospitals during the past year had the disease known as general paralysis, or paresis, commonly but erroneously known as softening of the brain. This disease usually comes on at about the prime of life; and our doctors are now saying that they believe, in the vast majority of cases—and some of them say with very few exceptions—that the disease of general paralysis is due to an earlier attack of syphilis. Sometimes the interval elapsing between the attack of syphilis and the mental breakdown is as long as thirty years. Just what the relation is between the earlier attack of syphilis and the condition of general paralysis occurring later in life, we have yet to discover. No one has yet told us with accuracy; but it is thought that the poison, residual in the system from the earlier attack of the infectious disease, results in the mental breakdown later in life. Those figures, of course, are only to be applied to those cases of mental disorder which enter our state hospitals,

and to those about which we have some knowledge. It is undoubtedly true that quite a number of cases of general paralysis are cared for outside of the institutions, so that we do not know just what is the actual percentage.

"It has been very gratifying in our campaign to see the wholesome attitude which has been taken by the public and by the press toward this so-called venereal disease. In the beginning we had a feeling that we would have much difficulty, but that is more or less a superstition, part of the imagination. It is not necessarily a disgrace to a man to have syphilis. We have quite a number of cases in which the infection is accidental. It may come from a drinking cup, a public towel, a public toilet or in a number of ways. Syphilis is not primarily a venereal disease. The infection simply gets into the system in whatever way it has the opportunity; but, as it needs close contact with the diseased person to bring about the infection, we have consequently a large number of cases where the infection takes place as the result of immoral relations.

Early Treatment the Wisest Course

"Further than this, in addition to our educational campaign—or, I might say, as a part of our educational campaign—we are saying just what Dr. Norbury has said to you, that insanity is much more curable in the earlier stages; that earlier treatment means a larger percentage of cures. We are saying to the people that the best thing they can do with their relative or friend when they come to us for advice—and they do come in large numbers—is to take that friend to a reliable institution, or a reliable physician, trained in diagnosis and treatment of nervous and mental diseases, get him under treatment just as soon as possible, and give the physician every possible chance.

"In addition to this we are saying, perhaps with some hesitation, that worry and bad mental habits are responsible for quite a proportion of mental breakdowns. This is a subject which is too involved and too comprehensive for me to attempt a discussion of in the short time remaining. We do say, however, that hard work in itself seldom brings a mental

breakdown; but when accompanied by worry, severe mental stress and strain—and in many cases with a family heredity of nervous or mental disease as a background—then is when the breakdown occurs. We have said this about heredity that anyone who has a bad heredity, so far as nervous and mental diseases are concerned, should not despair, should not feel that that heredity is fatal, but should endeavor to be more careful, perhaps, in mental habits and avoid stress and strain to which he may be subjected in his work. At the same time, we have advised people who come to us with a bad heredity, worrying about a possible mental breakdown later in life, to consult and come under the treatment and direction of a physician who understands mental diseases.

"The second branch of our work is that with individual cases, commonly called social service work. Of course this educational campaign brings to the surface many incipient cases, individuals who are worrying about their own health, or the health of their friends or relatives and members of their own families. So we are sending social workers to investigate those cases, to guide them, to take them to clinics or to tell them where reliable treatment may be had, and how they may obtain treatment for their disorder. To provide for more facilities for the treatment of the patients who come to us for advice, we are promoting the establishment of dispensaries for the treatment of mental diseases. The supply of physicians who can intelligently treat mental disorders is much too small, as Dr. Norbury has told you. As a rule, the physicians who can treat the disease make a charge that many of the patients cannot afford, so we have co-operated with some of our private physicians in New York, and with some of the physicians of the state hospitals in New York, and have succeeded in establishing three additional dispensaries, or clinics, primarily for the treatment of nervous and mental diseases in that city.

Chicago Needs a Psychopathic Hospital

"Now let me say just one or two words as to some things which might be done here in Chicago and in Illinois. I am not giving this to you by way of criticism,

and I am not giving it to you by way of advice, because I am confident that, with Dr. Norbury at the head of your state system, you will have all the advice and instruction that you need. I am simply saying it in the hope that, coming from one who has just arrived in the field, possibly some additional weight may be attached to what he has said in regard to the purposes of the Illinois society. As Dr. Norbury has told you, one of the first things to consider, one of the most advantageous things to be achieved here in Chicago, would undoubtedly be a psychopathic hospital for the instruction of medical students.

"Let me tell you something we did in New York state. In the city of Syracuse there was considerable agitation and endeavor to have the county of Onondaga, in which Syracuse is located, put up a county ward, or psychopathic ward, in connection with one of the general hospitals, at a cost of fifty thousand dollars, for the care of all the incipient insane in the county, pending their commitment, or, in other words, during the ten-day period of observation. The county supervisors in this county were not quite as broad-minded men as county supervisors sometimes are, and, seeing no opportunity for political patronage, because the psychopathic ward was to be built on the grounds of the general hospital, and to be maintained and run by the general hospital after once constructed, they refused to entertain the proposition. In spite of that fact the city rented a large house, fitted it up and began to receive the incipient insane in this little psychopathic hospital, under the direction of a well-qualified medical man. What was the result? The second year after its inauguration the admissions to the state hospital from this county fell off seventeen. The admissions to that state hospital, which is supplied by seven or eight other counties, increased normally with the increase of population in all of the seven or eight other counties. The population increased the same percentage, fully as much in this county of Onondaga, but the admissions to the state hospital fell off. That meant that a comparatively large number of men and women went to this psychopathic hospital; their mental trouble was

temporary, or possibly not severe enough to warrant their commitment to a state institution. Their trouble was soon cleared up, and they were able to go on their way without the formality and the legal entanglements of commitment to a state institution.

Legal Aspect of Psychopathic Hospital

"There is one point which I might bring out, too, in connection with this psychopathic hospital—a point which I have not heard discussed as yet—and that is the value of a psychopathic hospital from a legal point of view. It is well known that men in business, men in responsible positions in all of our large cities, have mental breakdowns, some of which are only temporary in nature. By receiving proper care in an institution of this kind, in possibly thirty days a great many of these cases might be cleared up. The individuals concerned could then return to their business, to the practice of their professions, without ever having been obliged to go to a state hospital; without being involved in the legal entanglements which necessarily follow a legal commitment to a state institution.

A Campaign of Education Advocated

"In addition to this, Miss Elnora E. Thompson, executive secretary of the Illinois society, has told me that one of the things which they are very anxious to start here in Illinois, and which they will start just as soon as they have sufficient financial support, is a campaign of education somewhat similar to that being carried on in other states—a campaign such as I have very briefly outlined to you. I ask you, as representative men of the City Club of Chicago, to be ready to support this Illinois Society for Mental Hygiene in its recommendations, which are put out through Dr. Norbury, through Mr. Mather, and through the secretary, Miss Thompson." (Applause.)

THE CHAIRMAN—"Our time is nearly up, and as Dr. Patrick and Dr. Hirsch are not here I am going to ask Dr. Kuh, one of our well-known alienists, to say a few words in conclusion. Dr. Kuh is a member, by the way, of the Illinois Society for Mental Hygiene." (Applause.)

Dr. Sidney Kuh

"Mr. Chairman and Gentlemen: Both of these speakers who have preceded me this afternoon have emphasized the fact that the problem of the prevention of insanity is essentially a problem of education. Unfortunately, however, we face an unusual difficulty here, in the fact that before we can educate the public it is necessary for us to educate our educators. The great difficulty is that the number of physicians who are interested in the problems of insanity is altogether too small to exert any important or appreciable influence upon the public. There is not to-day (and I make this statement without fear of contradiction) a single school among the many medical schools in the city of Chicago which gives to its students adequate instruction on the subject of insanity.

Cut Useless Red Tape

"Next to the importance of educating the medical profession in this subject, and very nearly equal to it in importance, to my mind, is the education of the legal profession. It is the lawyer who makes the law in this country, and, unfortunately, only too often finds methods of violating it with impunity. At any rate, he makes the law. The greatest difficulty, perhaps, that we have to deal with is the fact that so many legal restrictions, so many difficulties along that line, are placed in our way when we attempt to take care of a patient who is mentally diseased. A few years ago I had occasion to examine a woman who was physically so ill that she was near death. She was violently disturbed mentally. To care for her at her private residence, in an apartment building, was utterly out of the question. I wrote a certificate, stating in that certificate that this woman was not only insane, but that her physical condition was such that it was a matter of life and death to bring her under proper care at the earliest possible moment. Four days were lost, because of utterly senseless legal restrictions, before this woman could get the care that she was so urgently in need of, when every moment of delay might have meant her death. Therefore, I feel that until the legal profession has a more adequate idea

of the needs of the insane, and until the present legal restrictions are changed, very little will be accomplished along these lines.

Mental Hygiene a Means of Reducing Crime

"Another point which has not been touched upon today, and which should be of interest to us particularly at this moment, is the important question of the influence of proper care for the insane on the prevention of crime. I do not believe that very many of you have any idea of the importance of this particular point, or realize how great would be the decrease in crime if it were possible, under existing conditions, to have the insane cared for in the proper way. I could go into this at great length, but the time is too short.

"Another point is the economic folly of our present system. If we cannot appeal to you on the ground of humanity, just think for one moment of the terrific waste that is involved here. I am not exaggerating when I say that there are hundreds of cases in the state of Illinois (cases of mental disturbance) annually, who become chronically and incurably insane because of the impossibility of caring for them at the earliest possible moment. In European countries they have long since realized the importance, from an economic point of view, of having farm colonies for certain classes of the insane, where these people can have,

not only the healthy influence of outdoor living, but where they can be made self-supporting, where the burden of their support can be taken from the shoulders of their fellow-citizens.

"Another point, that seems to me of vast importance, is the question of having a competent alienist and psychologist on the board of pardons and on our boards of parole. There is no doubt at all but that a large number of people are constantly released from our penal institutions who are utterly unable to live without constant conflict with the law when they are at liberty. There should be somebody who could weed out and pick out these cases that are to be pardoned or paroled.

"The situation still presents many difficulties, but still I think we have every reason to be optimistic. Great things have been accomplished in this state within the last few years. Perhaps even that is slight in its significance in comparison with the fact that practically all that has been done in the state of Illinois within the last few years has been the work of one woman, the woman whose name, I am proud to say, heads the list of our officers. If it had not been for Miss Julia Lathrop, Illinois would be far from where it stands today. If one woman can accomplish what she has accomplished, then, gentlemen, if we all stand together, great things can be done by us in this movement for mental hygiene." (Great applause.)

"THE POLITICAL SITUATION AT SPRINGFIELD"

Mr. Edwin H. Cassels was presiding officer of the City Club meeting held January 27, 1913. The introductory remarks from the chair follow:

THE CHAIRMAN—"Gentlemen of the City Club and Guests: The constitution of our state provides that the sessions of the General Assembly shall begin on the Wednesday following the first Monday in January; that the House of Representatives shall be presided over by the secretary of state until an organization is perfected. Another article of the constitution provides

that the election returns for the state officers shall be sent to the secretary of state, who shall, immediately after the organization of the House of Representatives, open and publish the same. Another section of our constitution provides that the governor shall be elected for a term of four years from and after the second Monday in January. And still another article provides that the government of Illinois shall be divided into three departments—the executive, the legislative, and the judicial—and that no one department shall interfere with the

work or the functions of any other department.

"We have in this state today a very peculiar situation with reference to this 'tri-principle' government of ours; one of the horses in our three-horse team has balked, or rather is at a standstill, because the lower house of the General Assembly has not yet been able to perfect its organization by the election and installation of a speaker. Thus far the failure of the lower house to perfect its organization has prevented the official canvass of the election returns for governor, and the other state officers; and so, although Governor-elect Dunne, in accordance with the terms of the constitution, should have taken office on January 13, he has not yet been officially declared elected governor of the state. And the same thing applies to the other state officers.

"Why this 'deadlock' exists, and possibly how it is to be broken, and how an organization ultimately is to be perfected and our legislative branch made ready for its work, is the subject for discussion today.

"We have with us several members of the lower house of the General Assembly who will discuss this matter in short addresses. It gives me pleasure to introduce, first, a representative from the Eighth Senatorial District, Lake County, a member of the Progressive party, a man elected as a Progressive, and, I believe, a member of the Progressive 'steering committee' in the lower house of the General Assembly—the Honorable F. S. Munro." (Applause.)

Hon. F. S. Munro

"Mr. Chairman, Fellow-Members of the City Club, and Guests: We consider it a great opportunity to meet the citizens of Chicago and discuss this situation. In the limited time which we have we must hurry over a great number of preliminary topics to reach what each of us may think the real 'meat' of the question. In advance I wish to say, and I am sure it will meet with your approval as good citizens, that the consensus of opinion of those who are able to judge is that the lower house of the Legislature of the state of Illinois is sixty or

seventy per cent more efficient and more capable than it has been for a great number of years. (Applause.)

Non-Partisan Organization Advocated for Lower House

"Now the question is, Why do these men fail to get together and organize the House and proceed to do the things that they were sent down there to do? If you will recollect, we Progressives suggested long before the House met that there should be a non-partisan organization of that House, and I am free to say, in the last four weeks, this suggestion has been fully met by the progressive Democrats, by the Socialists and by the Progressive party itself in an attempt to so organize the House. We have failed up to date. Now, why have we failed? I propose to demonstrate that we have failed for two reasons: First, the desire of certain people to have an autocrat in the speaker's chair; and, second, the desire of certain people to have autocrats as chairmen of the important committees. It is an open secret that in the last Assembly the Republican majority split on the Republican candidate, and he only got his election when he agreed with fourteen men that they should have fourteen chairmanships. Four years ago the speaker was elected by a bi-partisan combination, whereby the members of that combination drew the important chairmanships.

The New Rules Proposed by Progressives

"We have presented some new rules designed solely to take from the speaker the power to name the chairmen of the important committees, and to place that power where it ought to be—in the body of the House. I need not tell this audience what an important step that is; I need not tell you men of Chicago that good legislation has been pigeonholed because the chairman would not agree with it; I need not tell you that bad legislation has been held by the chairman as a club over those committees. These rules also provide that the chairman will not be an autocrat of his own committee. He cannot refuse to call his committee together, but a majority of any committee may call that committee together. These rules also provide

that no chairman of a committee can keep a bill in committee when the majority of the House want to pass it.

"Now, what is the issue? Why, it is the old-time issue of one man against a majority of the House. The old-time issue of one man in the committee trying to override the majority of the committee. It ought to be to the everlasting honor of the progressive Democrats and their nominees, three or four of them, because Mr. McKinley, here present, has also agreed to the proposed rules, that they have studied these rules and have said, 'We are with you on that.' It ought to be also to the glory of the Socialists, who took these rules and spent an entire day studying them, adopted them, and came back with but a slight suggestion of change. Now, who are opposed to these rules? The Republicans, a few of them, have said they are good rules, but they do not come forward and adopt them. The Republicans have lived too long, in my judgment, under the power of one man, and they desire to have one man in control of legislation.

Balance of Power in Hands of the Republicans

"There is another condition which confronts us today, in my judgment as serious as the question on rules, and it is this in effect: that with the Progressives offering their votes to a progressive Democrat who is within a few votes of election, there is no doubt that the balance of power is held firmly in the grasp of the Republican members of the House. We cannot move until they are willing to say we can. Now, what is the price that these gentlemen demand? We have the record of the interview with the floor leader of the Republicans in last week's Daily News in which he practically says, 'The price of the key to unlock this deadlock at Springfield is—a *United States senatorship*.' We tell them privately and publicly that that is wrong. We say that the tying up of one piece of legislation to another is wrong. The gentlemen with whom I am associated have passed a resolution unanimously that under no circumstances will they consider a *United States senatorship* proposition until the House is organized. (Applause.)

"I am here to say that the same proposition has been made to the progressive Democrats—that the Republicans will elect Mr. Rapp, if, in return for that favor, the progressive Democrats will promise to vote as directed for the senatorship. I say it is to the credit of the progressive Democrats that they have refused to meet those terms.

The Position of the Progressives

"It happens to be my good fortune, gentlemen, to be connected with the 'steering committee' of the Progressives, and I have had conferences with the gentlemen of the type of Mr. Hubbard and Mr. Rapp. I can say to you that, in those conferences, we have offered those men the twenty-five votes of the Progressives without demanding one single favor in return. Our position down there is simply this: We stand for good legislation; primarily we want to get a good speaker, and we don't want to tie that speaker down with promises—not even to us. (Applause.) There is some satisfaction in such work. In one conference that I had with one of these gentlemen who is a candidate for speaker, when I told him that he had the Progressive vote unanimously without a single thing in return, he turned to me and said, paraphrasing the old quotation, 'Thou almost persuadest me to become a Progressive.' (Applause.)

"Gentlemen, we cannot go into this in detail in the short time that we have at our disposal. I believe my time is almost up now, but for the purpose of discussion, I say the two questions which the men must solve down there, are: the question of the autocratic rule of the speaker and of his sub-autocrats, the chairmen of the committees, overriding the rule of the majority of the House (that is the fight that we are making now); and the question whether we will submit to the old, old custom of trading off one thing for another thing before the subject proper is even discussed. And I think that the better element of the House will be on the right side, will be for the rules of the Progressives, and will be opposed to deciding more than one question at a time." (Applause.)

CHAIRMAN CASSELS — "Gentlemen, the next speaker whom we shall call upon was at one time the recipient of a considerable number of votes for the speakership of the House of Representatives. I notice that he cast a long-ing glance at this gavel as he came in here. I have the honor to introduce one of the representatives from the Thirty-first Senatorial District, the Honorable William McKinley, a Democratic representative." (Applause.)

Hon. William McKinley

"Mr. Chairman, Members of the City Club, and Guests: This is the nearest I ever got to holding the gavel. (Laughter.) I did not go to Springfield to be a candidate for speaker. I was probably more surprised than any man on the floor when I began to receive votes, although it turned out that nothing down there should be surprising.

"The predicament at Springfield, while it is not at all surprising to men who have studied the situation, presents a new phase that they never have had down there before. I am not speaking as a veteran, for this is my first term; but it is the first time in the history of the Lower House that there have been four parties sending a considerable number of representatives—there are about seventy-two Democratic members, fifty Republican members, twenty-five Progressive members, and four Socialist members. You can see that no party has a majority in the Lower House.

Tedious Balloting on Speakership

"The people at the polls last November expressed a desire for a change in government by electing Woodrow Wilson to the presidency of the United States, and Judge Edward F. Dunne to the governorship of Illinois, and by sending seventy-two Democratic representatives to Springfield—the largest number of any one party in the Lower House. Therefore I am of the opinion now, and always have been, that the people desire a Democratic speaker, and that that speaker must be a progressive Democrat. (Applause.)

"The situation as it presents itself down there is peculiar in more respects than one. I believe that never in the history of the Lower House have so many

ballots been taken for the election of a speaker—sixty-three. On the fifty-fifth ballot Mr. John Rapp received sixty-nine Democratic and Progressive votes; twenty-three of those were Progressive votes. There is no man who knows John Rapp personally or casually who will dare say that he is not a progressive Democrat. His history in legislation in Springfield has shown that he is a progressive Democrat, and he has been down there a number of terms. This balloting took place on last Thursday morning, January 23. Thursday afternoon some scattering votes went from Mr. Rapp, and we then adjourned at the close of the sixty-third ballot until five o'clock tomorrow evening, Tuesday, January 28, and I think we shall find that the men who have gone to their respective districts and talked with their constituents will come back with a better feeling about the situation, and I hope it will be cleared up.

New Members Getting Their Bearings

"I am like my friend, Mr. Munro, in that I take an optimistic view of the situation, and I think perhaps two or three months from now you will find that this situation probably is one of the best things that ever happened in this progressive Legislature, for the reason that in these four parties down there, eighty-seven members of the lower house are new members; we did not know each other except in a general way from reading the reports in the newspapers. These new men are getting acquainted now, and, whereas a couple of weeks ago in addressing each other they made many mistakes in names, they are now calling each other familiarly by first names—they are understanding each other better. The progressive Democrats now know who are progressive in the other parties; the Progressive members themselves know who are the progressive Democrats, and this understanding is going to help us out later. If we did not iron out these differences prior to the organization of the House, we would have to iron them out on the floor of the House after the House is organized, and probably when exceedingly important legislation would be up, with the result that that legislation would suffer.

Constituency Should Advise With the Representatives

"Only one question is before us now, and that is—the election of a speaker. We four members who appear here today, I believe, have been asked to tell you how to solve this problem. Well, we have been laboring at it for three long weeks down in Springfield, and we have been trying to solve it there, so don't expect us in ten minutes to tell you here how it is going to be solved. The only way I know that it can be solved is for you to get out among the men that you sent down to the Legislature and talk to them. The blame is not on us, it is not on Mr. Stedman, and Mr. Munro, and myself and others who will talk here; you are charged also with a duty. You know the men you voted for and you know the men you sent down there. Have you talked to them since you sent them down? Have you written to them since you sent them down there? Have you asked them questions with reference to this matter, or expressed your opinion? If you have not, then you have been negligent in your duty, and you ought to remedy that negligence. There is only one way that a representative can find out, after he is elected, what his constituents want, and that is by going and talking with them personally. When he is down in Springfield, and the situation is changing every minute down there, he must use his own individual judgment, unless you send him advice.

"If any of you gentlemen had a lawyer trying a case over in the courthouse you would not stay at your office or your place of business and let that lawyer go ahead with his own individual judgment and try that case. No, you would advise with him. And I am placing part of the blame on you gentlemen who have not backed up your representatives and said to them, 'You must do your work right, or you will not go back again!' That will help as much as anything to clarify the situation in Springfield.

Progressives of All Parties Should Back Up Governor Dunne

"We progressive Democrats—and I use the term advisedly—have a leader that we are all ready to stand back of; and I believe every progressive man in

the Legislature—whether he be Democrat, Republican, Progressive or Socialist—is willing to back up the policies upon which Judge Dunne, our leader, was elected. We intend to back him up, we intend to follow his advice and carry out the wishes of the people of the state of Illinois. This can only be done by getting together the men who believe in legislation that will be of benefit to the whole state of Illinois—not to our individual districts, but to the whole state—and fighting for this one thing alone until it is finished.

"Now, with four forces in the House, it is not surprising that we have delayed in organizing the lower house. The unfortunate thing about it is that we have an archaic law which says that the officers whom you elected cannot take office until the envelopes at Springfield are opened by a man that does not now exist—that is, the speaker of the House. The envelopes are down in the secretary of state's office, addressed to the speaker of the House, in care of the secretary of state, and there is no speaker. It is unfortunate that that situation exists, but we are dealing now with things as they are, and not with things as they ought to be. I believe that the time is now ripe for concerted action, that there is no question but that the men who stand for progressiveness in the Legislature must stand together in order to unlock this situation. The deadlock will be broken, I think, within forty-eight hours." (Applause.)

CHAIRMAN CASSELS—"One of the interesting features of the last general election in the state of Illinois was the large increase in the vote of the Socialist party. This, naturally, has resulted in the election to the Lower House of the General Assembly of a larger number of members of that party than have ever been there before—a number which, as time goes on, will undoubtedly have a very considerable influence in the shaping of legislation, and in the conduct of the business of the Lower House of the General Assembly. I call upon the Honorable Seymour Stedman, elected to the Lower House from the Thirteenth Senatorial District by the Socialist party." (Applause.)

Hon. Seymour Stedman

"Mr. Chairman, Members and Guests of the City Club: I was not entirely in the position of my friend McKinley. When I went to Springfield I knew I was going to be a candidate, and I knew I would get the largest percentage of votes from my own party (laughter), and I knew that the caucus would be unanimous, and that the vote for me would continue as long as the Socialist members remained present in the assembly room.

"Some fifteen years ago, in this city, different political parties elected their representatives to county, state and city conventions. Their experience there brought the representatives into touch with each other; there was a great deal of discipline, and a great deal of organization in the parties. A few years after that those parties abdicated to three or four newspapers in the city of Chicago, and since that time the newspapers in running the different political parties in Chicago have naturally brought about a condition where they are not intimately acquainted with each other. (Laughter.) And one of the most interesting things to me down in Springfield was to see the raw recruits running against a drilled regiment, only to be thrown about generally. They started out in their inexperience in a manner that was exceedingly ludicrous. They started out, many of them, like Diogenes, looking for an honest man for speaker; they wanted a man who would not disgrace the state of Illinois; they wanted a man who would be fair; they wanted a man to be honest; and for three weeks they have been searching, and they seem to be absolutely unable to find one—at least each thinks he has found the only one.

Legislators With Axes to Grind

"Now, the real difference that exists there is not so much a difference among men as a difference in the interests and the purposes and the objects of men. A man who is a member of that House has two things to consider—the men who work for him at the primaries and the newspapers who are to boost him after the nomination. Between those two he is in very much of a dilemma: If he is in the old line Republican party and can

control it to any considerable extent he knows there is about \$300,000 to \$400,000 worth of patronage that he may be able to distribute. If he comes back to his precinct and says to his constituency, 'I have voted for an honest man,' the fellow there will say to him, 'Well, what have you got for me? I want to be on the committee on warehouses,' or 'I want to be on the board of pardons,' or 'I want to be on the board of arbitration,' or 'I want to serve as a secretary of an employment bureau. What I want is a job. Now, what have you done for that?' 'Well,' says our legislator, 'I have not been able to do anything for you, but we have got an honest man for speaker.' 'Oh,' the home fellow says, 'that doesn't feed my family. I may not vote the Socialist ticket, but I am a practical Socialist—I want to work for the state.' (Laughter and applause.) So immediately on his return to his district, the member of the House must deal with that man.

"And then a great many of those people have other interests. They look at Lee O'Neil Browne—an eloquent fellow, an able man, a man whose name has become a by-word, who is again a force down there to some extent at least—and they figure, 'Well, there is a man that perhaps we cannot get along with or associate with anyhow.' Lee O'Neil Browne's labor record there is one of the best of any man at Springfield. But he, like a great many others, if you can but look into them, simply personifies certain industries. Why, if that Assembly could be turned into what it represents, to a large extent it would appear like an industrial exhibition. You will find a beer keg on one desk, and a distillery on the other. (Laughter.) You will find a locomotive on one desk, and something else on another; you will find the wets and the drys here and there. And in Chicago the wet and dry issue is not an important one. Down through the state it has become a business, and it is quite a lucrative business. They raise money at picnics, and at fairs, and at weddings, and christenings, and every other place, and they have a large fund with which to do business. The farmers are anxious to decrease their taxes, so the wet and the dry issue divides the Repub-

licans and it divides the Democrats. The question of patronage divides the Democrats and it divides the Republicans. The question of a speakership divides the Republicans and it divides the Democrats. The question of committees likewise performs the same function.

"Now, while I think the rules suggested are a decided advance over the conditions that have prevailed there, naturally a party in power wants to control. That party has the responsibility of the administration, and naturally it is its purpose to control the committees, to control the administration and to carry out its policies.

The Socialist Viewpoint

"Judge Dunne made his issue practically on three planks. One was anti-Lorimerism; one, the abolition of the state board of equalization; and the third was the referendum. With those three propositions I may say that the Socialists agree. The people at large have indorsed them. The first proposition, however, is the most difficult that presents itself. The anti-Lorimerism deals with a class of men largely who cannot make fine distinctions. (Laughter.) They cannot draw a distinction between being bribed to steal a railroad and taking the railroad by indirect methods, through other people who do the stealing. They cannot draw a fine distinction between the men who take a rake-off in buying furniture for the statehouse and distinguished men in the city of Chicago stealing a lake front that is worth several million dollars. I say they are not so cultivated, they are not so keen intellectually as to draw those fine distinctions, and I think they look upon their position there as a business proposition, and business always believes in securing the most you can for the least return. And they operate from that standpoint. From their philosophy they are logical; we simply disagree with their philosophy, that is all. (Laughter and applause.) And we Socialists likewise disagree with the philosophy of those who make a great distinction between the ham-sandwich political thief and the man who will steal a franchise or a lake front, no matter how distinguished such people may be. (Applause.)

"Our position in regard to a speaker has been this: We are hoping that the people who represent the present industrial system will be able to compromise in their differences sufficiently to elect a speaker without calling upon us to cast a deciding vote. The responsibility of a capitalist administration does not lie with the representatives of the working class. The other parties ought to be able to reconcile their differences without calling upon us. If in the House, however, the result should finally terminate in a deadlock where four votes will decide it, we will then assume the responsibility of the situation. We have at the present time decided in favor of no one in any of the camps. When that is presented to us we will do so, and I might say that naturally, of course, our strength would be thrown with the most progressive political element that is represented there. (Applause.) That would be the logic of the situation. We are there with our heads in the dust. We are asking favors; we are soliciting. If we had a majority we would not beg, we would not ask, we would take and assume the responsibilities that would fall to us.

"Of course, if it is simply to find an honest man and to settle the problem on that score, why I can suggest to my friends that they might compromise on the Socialist candidate." (Laughter and applause.)

CHAIRMAN CASSELS — "Gentlemen, we have heard from three of the parties. I am told that an effort was made to secure some one of the Republican members to present this question from a Republican viewpoint. The gentleman whom I expected to call on I do not see here.

"The meeting is now open for a few minutes of discussion, and for any questions which any of the members may desire to ask, and I especially invite any volunteer from the Republican ranks to make a few remarks."

(At this juncture repeated calls for Mr. Catlin were heard.)

CHAIRMAN CASSELS — "Mr. Catlin, will you give us a few words on the present situation?"

Hon. Franklin S. Catlin

"Mr. Chairman and Gentlemen: I did not have time to come up here to dinner, and I arrived just a minute ago at the close of Mr. Stedman's speech. I had absolutely nothing in my mind to say, but I will say this, that last April when the people of Illinois voted at a direct primary they selected delegates to the national convention for Theodore Roosevelt. They also nominated candidates for the Legislature on the Republican ticket, and they also by a large vote selected Mr. L. Y. Sherman for senator. The Republicans now in the Legislature feel that they are as much bound to vote for Mr. L. Y. Sherman for senator with a minority, as they would be with an overwhelming majority. The great howl that we have had in this state about the Lorimer case has arisen by reason of the fact that a majority of the Republicans, when they had control of the Legislature four years ago, did not abide by the primary which was held prior thereto and elect Mr. Hopkins United States senator. As a result of Mr. Roosevelt being, as he claims, cheated out of the nomination, he has gone out and organized a new party. Are we, then, to repudiate the instructions which we received at the same primary which he claims nominated him? We were instructed to elect Mr. L. Y. Sherman United States senator, or to use all the power in our means to do so. We are still trying to do so. We are maintaining a solid vote for our man for speaker until it is demonstrated to the other elements in the House that there is no combination which can be made without the Republican vote.

"We would rather see a Democratic speaker there who can assume the responsibility and carry the load; but at the same time we believe that those members of that party now called Progressive, who were elected largely by the vote of people formerly members of the Republican party, who at the April primary selected Mr. L. Y. Sherman for senator, should honestly vote for the most progressive candidate for speaker on the floor now, and that is Mr. Homer J. Tice. In so voting they are voting for a man who is a progressive, who has not been

one of the reactionaries who have voted against everything that we have got there in the last two years in the way of progressive legislation. One of the Progressive planks is the initiative and referendum. I remember Joe Carter, when the bills providing for those things came up before the House, called for the tallest page in the House and had him get up on the desk and hold aloft a seven-foot ballot, and said, 'Gentlemen, this is what you are going to vote for. This is what you will have when you get the Oregon system.' And when the deep waterway, and also the initiative and referendum came up, when the roll was called, Mr. Carter did not answer. That is the 'progressive' sentiment for you! He talks strongly about a measure and then fails to vote on it.

"Mr. Tice, the Republican candidate, not only worked and voted for that initiative and referendum amendment, but he was the leader on the floor of the House for woman's suffrage, which was one of the planks of the Progressive platform. He was the man who introduced and carried through the anti-public drinking cup bill, a man who has served several terms in the Legislature and probably the most able man for speaker, and one of the most progressive men in the House.

"We Republicans claim, and I think with justice, that we have been in the last few years, and particularly the last two, the most progressive party in Illinois. We have placed on the books more progressive legislation than any other state, not excepting progressive Wisconsin. Wisconsin has something like sixty per cent of its employes under civil service; we have placed eighty per cent under civil service, and I say that in answer to a statement by Mr. Stedman as to patronage. The Republican members are called upon to deliver to their constituents what they call for. The Republican members worked—at least my colleague and I did in my district—as civil service advocates until they put the law on the books. And under that civil service the man gets the place only after competent examination, and the man who is most worthy of the office and most experienced is the man who is favored. And that does not mean political patronage or party jobs.

"The Republican party in the past two years—I will say in the past eight years—has placed more progressive, beneficial laws on the books for the benefit of the laborer than any other party in any other state, and Mr. Stedman heard me once say in Springfield, as I will say again, that the president of the Illinois Federation of Labor said that in Illinois the working man worked now shorter hours for more money and under safer conditions as to life and health than in any other state in the United States, and that means in any commonwealth in the world. That has been obtained by our party, the progressive Republican party, and we are advocating and claiming that we should have a progressive Republican speaker and a Republican United States senator." (Applause.)

CHAIRMAN CASSELS—"Gentlemen, are there any further remarks or any questions?"

A MEMBER—"Mr. Chairman, I would be interested in knowing what the last speaker has to say for the Republicans, as to what they propose to do to break the deadlock. As I understand it, they have from the beginning stood solidly for one man, and I would like to know what their future position is going to be. Are the Republicans going to do anything, or just going to stand pat—as usual?"

MR. CATLIN—"The Republicans are going to continue to vote for the most progressive man on the floor. They are not going to flop their vote around from one man and then to another, when they know that a bunch of those that are now voting a certain way will not stay put when it comes to the final roll call. There have been transfers from one candidate to another by groups of individuals in the House of Representatives, and the Republicans are not going to flop around from one to the other, when it is well known that five, seven or ten of certain parts of those groups will not stay on the roll call in favor of that man if it is determined that their vote will elect him.

"Mr. Stedman has spoken of the wet and dry issue. The Republicans have not split on that question. We have got what is known as the dries and the wets among the Republican members of the

House; thirty of the Republicans are wet, but they are voting for a dry candidate for speaker, and will continue to do so. But some of the Progressives have voted intermittently. A large number of other groups are wet, and some of them have said, 'If I thought that man could be elected, I would not vote for him.' When asked, 'Why are you voting for such and such a man?' a man down there made the remark, 'I am voting for him with my fingers crossed. If my vote will elect him I will change my vote.' So the Republicans believe that we are doing only what is honest and fair in this contest over the speakership, when we vote for the most progressive, the most able man, the man best fitted by experience, character and every other requirement which is necessary to make a speaker." (Applause.)

A MEMBER—"I would like to ask Mr. Catlin if the speakership and senatorship fight in his estimation are, and should be, bound up together?"

MR. CATLIN—"I think it is impossible to separate the speakership and senatorship, because the United States constitution has thrown upon the Legislature a duty which does not belong there—that is, the election of a United States senator. There are something like twenty-eight or twenty-nine contests now being considered. The Democrats by putting in a speaker, who might be arbitrary and pack the election committee, can remove five Republicans or Progressives or anybody that they want, and can put in five good Democrats, who will make a majority on joint ballot to elect two United States senators. So that the speakership is a decidedly political post, a decidedly political issue, as long as the Legislature is obliged to select a United States senator—a duty which I think it should not have. I think that the people should vote directly for senator, and that there should be an amendment to the United States constitution providing for the election of senators by the direct vote of the people. But so long as we are compelled to select them, then we must take into view all the elements of the situation, and one of the most important elements is to have a fair speaker who will see that every man gets an honest count

on his contest, and does not proceed to pack the House with enough votes to elect the two United States senators from his own party, regardless of whether the contests are honest or not. That is the reason the speakership is a political issue, because the speaker will absolutely settle the naming of the two United States senators. That is something you cannot get away from. That is an actual fact. The speakership is bound up absolutely with the senatorship."

MR. STEDMAN—"Mr. Chairman, I want to ask the gentleman a question: By what mathematical ratio is it possible for the Socialist party to pack committees?" (Laughter.)

MR. CATLIN—"I don't think there is any danger of a Socialist speaker."

MR. JAMES TUFTS—"May I ask what is the attitude of the Republicans in regard to the proposed change of rules that was suggested, by which the committees should be appointed?" (Applause.)

MR. CATLIN—"Well, as to what has been the attitude during the past week I cannot tell. I was not there, owing to the death of my father; I don't know what has been done in the Republican caucus during the past week. I know what I personally believe about the Committee on Committees. I believe that the amendments to the rules proposed by the Progressives are generally good except one amendment, and that is to have a Committee on Committees, or an Executive Committee, to name committees. It is claimed that that is a great thing and a great progressive stride. They have it in the United States Congress today, and what is the result? Mr. Underwood of the Democrats and Mr. Mann of the Republicans name all the members of all the committees; that is the absolute fact. I got that by inquiry from Washington. They are on the Committee on Committees, and when there is a committee to be appointed they go into the other room and Mr. Underwood says: 'We are going to have eight men on the committee, and you will have five. What five do you want?' 'Well,' Mr. Mann says, 'we will take so and so'; Underwood says, 'We will take so and

so.' They go into the House and report, and that is the way it works. There is no way to provide any other rule here excepting to vote on the floor of the House. That means a majority of the people. Now, then, a majority might consist of fifty Republicans, four Socialists and twenty-five Progressives. Where do the seventy-three Democrats get off at in the composition of that committee? A majority might consist of seventy-three Democrats and four Socialists. Where do the other combinations come in? It will leave some element off of the committee.

"I believe that the speaker should be responsible, should name the committees and be the man whom you will look to. I know from my own experience as a member of an ordinary committee, if we have before us the passage of some legislation, and if the legislation did not go through the committee, or get out on the floor of the House as it should, I have been blamed by my constituents because that committee did not report out, when, as a matter of fact, I was working hard to get it out. If I told them that I worked for a certain thing in that committee they could believe me or disbelieve me, and I have no record of showing what was done. There is no record of this action of the committee. And this Committee on Committees is a very convenient system for shifting the blame along to other men; I don't think that the Committee on Committees is practical and would work.

MR. MCKINLEY—"May I ask you a question? I am a new member—but is it not a fact that it takes a two-thirds majority of the House under the old rule to pass practically any law?"

MR. CATLIN—"I said that that part of it was good. I said that the amendments to the rules regarding the majority are good. I am in favor of all the propositions except the one of the Committee on Committees—that is, as a practical operation. It takes two-thirds of the members to pass a law; it ought not to take over seventy-seven."

MR. J. R. W. COOPER—"I would like to ask the gentleman a question: Do I understand the gentleman to say that the thirteen or fourteen Democratic members of the Committee on Ways and

Means of the House of Representatives, including Ollie James of Kentucky, and Mitchell Palmer of Pennsylvania, and William Hughes of New Jersey, abdicate all their functions to Mr. Underwood and have nothing to say about the appointment of the members of the committees?"

MR. CATLIN—"I have been informed by a member that the practical result is that they do not have anything to say. Mr. Underwood is a floor leader, and what the floor leader says has a considerable influence with a person who disagrees with him, either on the committee or on the floor. Mr. Underwood has got a large party back of him with

a party whip to see that his associates do what he does. And Mr. Ollie James is no bigger than his party, and if the party tells Mr. James to get into line he will probably get into line when it comes down to the point; and if he doesn't he will get an awful bump from the Democratic members—he would get bumped good and hard, so that he would feel it."

MR. COOPER—"Mr. Underwood has been overruled a good many times during the past session of Congress."

MR. CATLIN—"No doubt Mr. Underwood has been overruled a great many times, but that does not determine the ultimate result of what happens in the majority of cases."

The City Club Bulletin

Published by the CITY CLUB OF CHICAGO, 315 Plymouth Court
DWIGHT L. AKERS, Editor*

VOLUME VI

WEDNESDAY, MARCH 5, 1913

NUMBER 4

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PANAMA CANAL TOLLS

The midday meeting of the City Club on February 6, 1913, was called to order by Mr. Urban A. Lavery, presiding officer. The introductory remarks from the chair were as follows:

THE CHAIRMAN—"Gentlemen of the City Club: Although the speaker of today, Professor Emory R. Johnson, has been for many years professor of transportation and commerce at the University of Pennsylvania, he has in that time done conspicuous and valuable service for the United States government. In 1899 he was appointed by President McKinley to be one of the commission to investigate the question of an Isthmian canal, and to report whether or not the Panama route should be selected. His personal report, deciding in favor of the Panama Canal, was one of the chief reasons why the Panama route was chosen. Since that time he has been intimately connected with the subsequent commission appointed by President Roosevelt. About a year ago President Taft appointed Professor Johnson 'special commissioner' to investigate the question of tolls and tonnage for the canal. The report he prepared on that question for President Taft was submitted some time ago, although the proclamation signed by the president fixing the tolls was issued but recently. That proclamation, drafted by Professor Johnson, was signed by President Taft without changing a word, so you will see that Professor Johnson

is intimately acquainted with his subject. He is also thoroughly familiar with the question of railroad transportation in this country. I think the occasion of hearing Professor Johnson talk on the subject of Panama Canal tolls is a fortunate one for Chicagoans. I take great pleasure in introducing to you Professor Johnson of the University of Pennsylvania." (Applause.)

Professor Emory R. Johnson

"Mr. Chairman, Gentlemen of the City Club: I am very glad to accept the invitation of the City Club to speak here today, because I am in sympathy with your undertaking. The use of that phrase, 'in sympathy with your undertaking,' suggests a short story which may not have been heard by all of you.

"The story is that three members of the Black Hand fraternity wrote a letter to a gentleman informing him that if he did not leave \$5,000 under the church steps at nine o'clock the next evening they would kidnap his wife. The man who received the letter went to the church steps at the time appointed and deposited an envelope. When he got out of sight, the three members of the Black Hand fraternity appeared, withdrew the envelope from its hiding place, and on opening it found a note which read: 'Gentlemen: I have no \$5,000, but I am in sympathy with your undertaking.' (Laughter.)

*Carlos Colton Daughaday, Acting Editor

"I understand your undertaking to be to study public questions, and to help in a better solution of them. For that reason I am requested to speak to you upon a public question which is attracting the attention of the country. That is the question of the administration of the Panama Canal, and especially the question of the Panama Canal tolls.

"The people of the United States are deeply interested in the Panama Canal. The achievement of our engineers at Panama is a source of national pride, and it is the earnest desire of every patriotic citizen that the administration of the canal shall be as creditable to our country as its construction has been; that the policy of the United States in the operation of the canal shall commend itself to the judgment of the American nation and of all countries the world over.

The Hay-Pauncefote Treaty and Canal Tolls

"The Hay-Pauncefote treaty and the policy of exempting the coastwise carriers from toll payment are questions that are being earnestly debated. The issues involved concern our relations with foreign countries; it is the belief of a large part of the people of the United States that the issues involve the nation's honor; and it is the conviction of an apparently increasing number that the controversy over the Hay-Pauncefote treaty has arisen because of the granting of an unjustifiable subsidy to the owners of coastwise vessels.

"It is not my purpose to discuss the Hay-Pauncefote treaty, nor could I do so with propriety. It is well known that two views are held as to the meaning of that treaty. One interpretation of the treaty is that it provides for the use of the canal under the same conditions by vessels of all flags, American and foreign; that the principle of the equal and neutral use of the canal, as broadly established by Article 8 of the Clayton-Bulwer treaty of 1850, was incorporated without impairment in the Hay-Pauncefote treaty of 1901; and that we have promised by that agreement to treat the vessels owned by citizens of our country the same as we treat vessels under the British or other foreign flags.

"The other view entertained as to the meaning of the Hay-Pauncefote treaty is that by it the United States formulated the rules to be observed by nations other than the United States in their use of the canal; that the United States by this treaty with Great Britain guaranteed to treat vessels under the British flag as favorably as the vessels under the flags of other foreign nations. Those who hold this view of the treaty contend that Congress did not violate the treaty in exempting the owners of coastwise shipping from the payment of tolls.

"Great Britain gives a different interpretation to Article 3, Section 1, of the treaty, which declares that:

"The Canal shall be free and open to the vessels of commerce and of war of all nations observing these rules, on terms of entire equality, so that there shall be no discrimination against any such nation, or its citizens or subjects, in respect of the conditions or charges of traffic, or otherwise. Such conditions and charges of traffic shall be just and equitable."

"The British government holds that this and other parts of the treaty obligate the United States to charge the same tolls on vessels of American ownership and registry as are levied upon vessels registered in Great Britain and other foreign countries, and the British government requests that should this view not be accepted by the United States the meaning of the Hay-Pauncefote treaty shall be determined by arbitration in accordance with the provisions of the arbitration treaty of 1908.

"It must be especially gratifying to the people of the entire country that both President Taft and ex-President Roosevelt have declared themselves unequivocally in favor of submitting to arbitration the meaning of the Hay-Pauncefote treaty, if the question at issue cannot be satisfactorily settled by diplomatic negotiation.

"Another way of setting at rest the present controversy is to repeal the toll exemption clause of the Panama Canal act of August 24, 1912. A bill to repeal that clause was introduced into the House of Representatives at the last session of Congress by Representative Sims of Tennessee, and has been introduced into the Senate this session of Congress by Senator Root. Thus, while the ex-

ecutive department of the government is carrying on diplomatic negotiations with Great Britain as to the meaning of the Hay-Pauncefote treaty, Congress is considering whether it may not be wise to repeal the toll exemption clause and thus to remove all cause of international controversy.

"As between arbitration of the question of the exemption of the owners of the coastwise shipping from the payment of Panama tolls, and the repeal of the toll exemption clause of the canal act, the latter course seems the simpler and the wiser one to pursue. If we arbitrate and lose, we must return all the tolls that have been collected and henceforth either charge no tolls or collect the same tolls on all vessels using the canal. If we arbitrate and win, we will but have established our right to pursue a policy which is, at least, of doubtful wisdom.

Coastwise Toll Exemption

"Whatever the Hay-Pauncefote treaty may ultimately be held to mean, the policy of exempting the owners of the coastwise ships from canal tolls should be decided upon its merits. Although it be admitted that the international bearings of the question are of paramount importance at the present moment, the wisdom or unwisdom of coastwise toll exemption as a domestic policy ought to receive careful consideration. Indeed, there seems special reason for calling attention to the economic effects of toll exemption and of urging that those effects be carefully studied.

"The American people will insist that our treaty obligations, whatever they may be, shall be fulfilled. The national conscience may be relied upon to require our government to maintain our honor among nations. In the treaty of 1908, we agreed with Great Britain that 'differences which may arise of a legal nature or relating to the interpretation of treaties existing between the two contracting parties, and which it may not have been possible to settle by diplomacy, shall be referred to the permanent Court of Arbitration at The Hague.' It can hardly be doubted that our country will live up to the principle established by this treaty. Diplomatic negotiation, or the arbitration of the meaning of the Hay-Pauncefote

treaty will eventually adjust the international question; but our course concerning toll exemption as a domestic policy must be determined by our judgment as to what is in the interest of the general public; and, in this case, a sober second judgment must determine our final decision.

Canal Should Be Commercially Self-Supporting

"It will hardly be necessary to urge upon this audience the importance of adhering to business principles in the management of the Panama Canal. It will be accepted by you as axiomatic that the United States government should operate the canal in a business-like way; that the tolls charged by the government should, if possible, be such as will stimulate traffic and at the same time safeguard the owners of the waterway against an annual deficit. If it were a private enterprise, you would insist upon its being managed, if possible, so as to yield its owners a profit; but, the canal being a government undertaking, you would probably deem it wise to collect such revenues as are needed to meet operating and maintenance expenses and interest charges, and to provide a sinking fund that will eventually return to the treasury the sum invested in the canal.

"The Panama Canal act of August 24, 1912, authorized the President to fix the tolls within a maximum limit of \$1.25 per net vessel ton; and the President, acting in accordance with that law, has established a schedule of tolls which impose a charge of \$1.20 per net ton upon merchant vessels and 50 cents per displacement ton upon warships. These tolls are reasonable and are within what the traffic will readily bear. They put the Suez and Panama Canals upon an even footing as competitors for the trade between the countries of the north Atlantic and the countries of the Orient. They will not divert from the canal route much of the traffic of the west coast of South America. They would amount to but a small part of the saving effected by the Panama Canal for ships making voyages between the two seaboard of the United States. Indeed, the tolls of \$1.20 per net ton upon merchant vessels would be equivalent to an

average of only about 60 cents per ton of cargo carried through the canal by freight vessels; for freight steamers have an average lading of one and three-quarters to two and one-half tons of cargo for each net vessel ton. The uses of the word 'ton' are confusing; but a ton of ocean freight means either 2,240 pounds or 40 cubic feet of space, while a vessel ton means 100 cubic feet. It is usually possible to stow between two and three tons of freight in a space of 100 cubic feet.

"Doubtless all will agree that the canal ought not to be a continuing burden upon the general taxpayers of the country. It should be made commercially self-supporting, if that can be done without unduly restricting the usefulness of the waterway to the commerce of the United States and to the trade of the world. The canal will have cost the people of the United States at least \$375,000,000. The interest and principal of this investment must be paid either from the funds secured by general taxes or from the revenues derived from canal tolls. Political prudence as well as sound methods of public financing make it advisable to require those who derive immediate benefit from the Panama Canal to pay a reasonable toll for the use of the waterway. The United States should conserve its revenues. They are required in ever larger amounts for the promotion of the public health, for public works and for the maintenance of the military power and naval prestige of the United States. Taxes must inevitably increase, and if the burden of carrying the Panama Canal is to be thrown upon the federal treasury and the taxpayers of the country instead of upon the producers, traders and ship owners who make profitable use of the canal in carrying on their business, the reasons must be clear and convincing.

"The wisdom or unwisdom of the exemption of the owners of coastwise ships from the payment of Panama tolls must depend largely upon whether it is necessary to collect tolls from all vessels in order to make the canal self-supporting and to prevent it from adding another permanent load to the increasing burdens of the general taxpayers. It is estimated that \$19,250,000 will be required

annually to make the canal commercially self-sustaining. This total is made up of \$3,500,000 for operating and maintenance expenses, \$500,000 for sanitation and Zone government, \$250,000 which is the annuity payable to Panama under the treaty of 1903, \$11,250,000 to pay 3 per cent on the \$375,000,000 invested in the canal, and \$3,750,000 for an amortization fund of 1 per cent per annum upon the cost of the canal.

Canal Revenues

"The revenues to meet these expenses must be secured from the tonnage using the canal. It is estimated that during the first year or two of the canal's operation the annual net tonnage of the shipping passing through the canal will amount to about 10,500,000 tons. Of this amount about 1,000,000 net tons will consist of shipping engaged in the coastwise trade of the United States. It is further estimated that by the end of the first decade—that is, in 1925—the total net tonnage of shipping passing through the canal annually will be about 17,000,000 tons, of which at least 2,000,000 tons will be contributed by the coastwise shipping. It is thus possible that about \$12,600,000 per annum might be secured from tolls during the first two or three years of the canal's operation, if all vessels, American and foreign, were required to pay the tolls fixed by the President in his proclamation of November 13, 1912. If the Panama Canal act stands unamended and the coastwise shipping is exempted from tolls, the initial receipts from the canal will probably amount to less than \$10,500,000 per annum.

"The total traffic in 1925 will presumably amount to about 17,000,000 net tons. In all probability the rate of tolls will by that time have been reduced to \$1 per net ton upon merchant vessels. It will not be wise to charge higher tolls at Panama than are levied at Suez. The tolls at Suez are now \$1.20 per net ton and they have been reduced several times during the past decade. It is probable that the prophecy of De Lesseps will be realized and that the Suez tolls will, within a few years, be brought down to 5 francs, about \$1, per net ton. There is thus a possible aggregate revenue of

\$17,000,000 per annum in 1925, obtainable from canal tolls, if all ships are required to pay the dues. The exemption of the coastwise shipping will reduce the revenue in 1925 to about \$15,000,000 a year, or to less than the estimated annual outlay for operation, Zone sanitation and government, the Panama annuity, and the interest on the amount invested in the canal. The revenues would yield no surplus for betterments and nothing for the amortization of the \$375,000,000 or more which the people of the United States will have paid for the canal.

"These calculations indicate clearly that the United States will need to collect tolls from the owners of the ships engaged in the American coastwise trade in order to secure revenues large enough to meet the canal's current expenses and its capital charges. The United States can be justified in relieving the coastwise carriers from the payment of tolls, and thus in reducing the canal revenues by \$18,000,000 or \$20,000,000 during the first decade of the operation of the waterway, only upon the condition that the general public rather than the owners of the coastwise vessels, will profit from the loss of revenue to the government. Who will gain by toll exemption, the coastwise carriers or the general public?

"An effective argument often urged in favor of exempting the coastwise carriers from canal tolls is that the freight rates paid by shippers both by coastwise water routes, and, what is far more important, by the all-rail lines across the country, will be lower by the rate of tolls not paid for the use of the Panama Canal. This argument assumes that the carriers, by water will compete so actively with each other and with the railroads as to bring the rates as low as the cost of the service will allow; and that if the cost of transportation by water between the two seaboard is increased by canal tolls the rates of the water carriers must be, and the charges of the rail lines will be, higher by the amount of the canal tolls. This reaches to the core of the theory of rate-making. Will the adjustment of the rates of the coastwise carriers and of the railroads be the result of a rate-controlling competition among the water lines, and will it be the policy of the railroads

to compete actively with the coastwise carriers for practically all of the traffic moving between the two seaboard?

Effect of the Canal Upon Railroad Rates

"Perhaps the most convincing evidence upon this question is not that afforded by the theory of transportation rates but by testimony of men who make or control rates. The manager of a large steamship company engaged in the trade between the two seaboard of the United States remarked that 'it has always been my theory that the ship rather than the shipper paid the tolls.' The vice-president of the Pacific Mail Steamship Company, who is a practical railroad man as well as an experienced steamship man, testified before the Senate Committee on Inter-Oceanic Canals last year that the tolls on the coastwise shipping will be an operating expense that will have to be borne by the carrier. The head of one of the largest manufacturing corporations of the United States—a corporation that operates a large fleet of ocean steamers—gave it as his opinion that the rates of freight between the two seaboard will not be affected by the tolls upon coastwise shipping.

"You are familiar with the theory that transportation charges are fixed primarily with reference to what the shipper can afford to pay—what the traffic will bear—and only secondarily with regard to the cost of the service. Carriers, whether by rail or by water, cannot disregard the costs of the service, but they make their rates such as they think shippers can afford to pay.

"You also know it to be the practice of steamship lines when operating between common termini to adjust their rates and services by conferences. The general public is being made aware of this by the evidence now being presented to the Merchant Marine Committee of the House of Representatives, and it is coming to be a matter of common knowledge that the informal organizations or conferences of steamship companies are able to regulate competition and to prevent rates from being forced thereby to the level below which the business would be unprofitable. The relation of the coastwise steamship companies with each other will be so regulated in their con-

ferences that their charges will tend to be what the traffic will bear—that is, what shippers will pay to have their goods transported by water instead of by rail. The tendency of the coastwise carriers operating through the canal will be to adjust their charges with reference to the schedules of railroad rates. In other words, the charges of the steamship lines will not be based upon the costs of service, including the tolls, but will be what the traffic will bear. Thus, whether there be tolls or not, the rates paid by shippers patronizing the coastwise lines will be the same.

"The exceptionally large producers and traders who ship goods in vessels which they own or charter will, it is true, enjoy lower transportation charges between the two seaboards of the United States, if the government relieves them from the payment of Panama tolls; and in so far as the railroads compete with chartered vessels for lumber, coal, ore and similar traffic, the canal tolls will be of advantage to the railroads. This advantage, however, will be more theoretical than real, for it is not probable that the railroads can compete with the carriers by water for bulk cargoes of lumber, coal, ore and similar products. The railroads will be obliged to allow that traffic to go by water and the charter rates on that traffic will not be affected by rail competition.

"In considering the effect of the canal upon railroad rates, the fact should be borne in mind that only a small portion of the total traffic of the transcontinental railroads will be subject to rail and water competition. It has been estimated that if the transcontinental railroads maintain their schedule of rates they may possibly lose one-tenth of their through traffic to the coastwise carriers. It will doubtless be the policy of the railroads to allow a portion of the traffic that might, by active rate competition, be held to the rails, to be shipped coastwise through the canal. It will be more to the advantage of the railroads to maintain profitable rates upon their traffic as a whole than to disturb their intricate rate structure for the sake of holding that small portion of their traffic for which the water carriers may possibly compete.

The Freight Problem Summarized

"The effect which canal tolls on coastwise shipping will have upon rail and water rates, and the adjustment of the charges of coastwise carriers and the railroads engaged in handling traffic between the two seaboards of the United States may be summarized as follows:

"The rates on traffic handled by regular steamship lines between the two seaboards will be but slightly affected by canal tolls. Only such producers and traders as use vessels which they own or charter for the shipment of full cargoes will profit by the exemption of the coastwise shipping from tolls. Probably 99 out of every 100 shippers will pay the same rates whether there be tolls or not. Most of the intercoastal traffic will consist of general commodities and package freight handled by the established steamship lines. Bulk cargoes of lumber, coal, ore and heavy steel products will comprise a relatively small share of the total traffic. The rates charged by the several steamship lines will be the same. The charges will be regulated by agreements among the competing companies and will be fixed primarily with reference to what the traffic will bear and only secondarily, if at all, with reference to the cost of the service to the carriers. The several steamship lines will maintain relatively stable schedules of charges which will ordinarily be adjusted with reference to the even more stable schedule of commodity and class rates maintained by the transcontinental railroads and their Eastern rail connections. If the regular steamship lines are required to pay Panama tolls, their payments to the government will be a part of their operating expenses, which will thus be increased by the amount of the tolls. If the steamship companies are exempted from the payment of tolls they will thereby receive a subsidy equal to the amount of the tolls not collected by the government.

Does Coastwise Shipping Need Assistance?

"The policy of toll exemption for the owners of the coastwise ships was urged upon Congress by appeals to patriotism. It was held to be a duty to aid the merchant marine under the American flag; and a subsidy in the form of toll exemption was granted to the owners of coast-

wise ships. No assistance has been given vessels serving the foreign trade of the United States. The carriers that have been given this subsidy have a monopoly of the coastwise traffic, as no foreign-owned ships are allowed to enter the domestic trade. Was the subsidy necessary, or is it justifiable?

"Senator Root, in the eloquent and forceful speech which he delivered in the Senate, January 21, 1913, characterized the coastwise shipping business as 'the most highly and absolutely protected special industry in the United States.' This industry, moreover, is prosperous, not languishing. There are over 3,500,000 tons of ships enrolled for the domestic trade, on the Atlantic and Pacific seaboards. There was an increase in tonnage of 38 per cent during the decade ending in 1911, and the opening of the Panama Canal will cause a large addition to be made to the coastwise fleet. It would seem that our navigation laws now give the shipping owned by the coastwise carriers sufficient aid and protection. At least, the burden of proof is upon the coastwise steamship companies to show need of further assistance.

"If a government subsidy is to be given to the owners of American ships, ought not the public funds to go to the vessels that need assistance—to those that serve our foreign trade in competition with foreign-owned vessels? I would not oppose government aid to American-owned vessels engaged in the foreign trade of the United States. Other countries have granted such subsidies; but it should be noted that the experience of Japan, Germany, and even of Great Britain shows that the effective ship subsidies are those paid to strong lines. The effective subsidies are those that so strengthen selected strong lines of strategic importance to

trade as to make those lines able to meet foreign competition and to increase in strength year by year.

Need of American Ships in the Pacific

"There are reasons why the United States might well seek to have a strong line of vessels under the American flag running from the west coast of the United States by way of Hawaii, Japan and China to the Philippines. It would be desirable, from the point of view of the development of our foreign trade, to have an equally strong line out to Australia from our west coast; to have a line from the Atlantic and gulf ports down the east coast of South America to Buenos Aires, and another through the Panama Canal down the west coast of South America to Valparaiso. If we are to give the owners of American ships \$20,000,000 during the next ten years, the funds had better go to build up such lines as have been mentioned instead of being given to the owners of the coastwise ships.

"In advocating the policy of adhering to business principles in the management of the Panama Canal, it is not recommended that the rate of tolls should be high. Indeed, the schedule of charges fixed by the President establishes relatively low rates—rates that will not unduly restrict the use of the canal. The owners of the vessels that serve the coastwise trade will derive greater benefit from the canal than will the owners of any other vessels. Rates double those established by the president might be imposed without preventing the canal from being used by the coastwise carriers. In view of these facts, it seems just that those who derive immediate benefit from the use of the canal should pay reasonable tolls." (Applause.)



THE CARE OF THE CRIMINAL INSANE

At the noonday meeting of the City Club on Monday, February 10, 1913, the problem of the care of the criminal insane was up for discussion. The introductory address by Mr. Sherman C. Kingsley, presiding officer, follows:

THE CHAIRMAN — "Gentlemen: About a year and a half ago, an adult probation law went into effect in the state of Illinois. Since then our state (in the courts of Chicago, at least) has been operating under that law, and has been extending to those persons whom ill fortune brings into court, the consideration and special attention that is possible under a probation law. This probation law enables the probation officer and the court to know a little bit more about such persons, and to take into consideration the special circumstances that relate to their cases.

"There are so many important features of this law, and it has so many bearings that are of interest and that are vital to the community, that the people closest to the situation have called a conference, and today and tomorrow there will be meetings here in this building on this general subject. At these conferences matters relating to both adult and juvenile probation will be considered. The meetings, I think, will be of great interest, and you are very cordially invited to any of the meetings.

"We spend, it is said, in this country something like seven billion dollars a year in the matter of detecting and punishing crime; and we are not so very intelligent about it. We seem to have been content, so far, to take the finished product, and then do whatever can be done with the criminal after he is made. The meeting this noon is going to indicate something of the failure of that process; and something of what might be done if we were really alive to this enormous problem which is fastened upon us, and which is growing every year. This country is piling up a burden for the future that is simply incalculable; and unless we do something about it, unless we get on a little more intelligent tack, the outcome of our present course is in doubt.

"All of you know Judge Olson, and you know what an efficient judge he is; and you know what the people thought about him at the recent election. He is very much interested in the problem that we are to discuss this noon, and, before we hear from Dr. Hickson, Judge Olson will say a few words about this matter and tell us of some of his recommendations, based on his experience upon our Municipal Court bench." (Applause.)

Judge Harry Olson

"Gentlemen of the City Club: The criminal problem is becoming a very serious one in this country. We have dealt with the criminal largely on the basis that he was a normal person, who knew the right, yet preferred to pursue the wrong. On that theory we have measured him since 1842, when the right and wrong test as to mental responsibility was laid down by our courts. Mental science has developed a great deal since 1842, and the lawyers who have had long experience in the criminal courts are satisfied that we must call in the physician to help us solve the problem of the criminal. We are becoming more and more convinced that a large proportion of our criminals, so-called, are defectives, mentally and physically.

"We have made a beginning in the passage of the adult probation law, which permits the court to release the first offender, who has committed a crime, in certain specified instances. These instances are limited in order to experiment with that method of dealing with offenders. It covers usually the case of the adolescent, the young boy from 15 to 20 years of age. Boys of this age are the most numerous of the criminal classes; and are the ones to whom adult probation is generally most beneficial.

"It requires a great deal of skill on the part of the judge to identify those who should be placed on probation; both from the standpoint of the good of the individual, and from the standpoint of the good of society. The judge is not always, however, able to diagnose this class of cases. The Anglo-Saxon never likes to admit that he is wrong about a problem; so instead of meeting it directly

by an admission of his mistake he meets it in a roundabout way, as, for example, the scheme of adult probation, and allowing the court to suspend the sentence. But we should go farther than that in dealing with offenders against the law. It has been proposed here in Chicago that we establish, in connection with the municipal courts and criminal courts, a psychopathological laboratory, much similar to that which is now in use through the beneficence of Mrs. W. F. Dummer, in the Juvenile Court of Chicago. We hope to be able to record data concerning those who commit crime; and we hope to apply to them tests from the standpoint of the sociologist, the neurologist, and the psychologist, in order that the judge may get a record much as he does in Germany as to the physical and mental status of the defendant before imposing a punishment as prescribed by the statute for the normal.

"Such an institution would probably have already been inaugurated in Chicago, had it not been for the stress in which the city found itself in its finances this year. We hope to have the institution established within a year. We require at the head of such an institution, of course, a well grounded physician and psychologist. Germany has been in advance of this country in the study of mental diseases. We have with us to-day to tell us what they are doing in Germany with the insane, and the border-land cases, a doctor who, after being graduated from the University of Pennsylvania, engaged in the general practice of medicine for ten years, specializing in neurology, and who for the last three years has been in Europe as a student of psychiatry under Zielen and Bonhoeffer of Berlin, Bleuler of Zurich, and Krepelen of Munich, and such psychologists as Stumpf and Lipps. He comes here, therefore, with the world's latest and best information on these subjects. We trust that we will be able, here in Chicago, to do something along the lines of what they are doing over there in the handling of the criminal insane and the border-land cases.

"The judges, who have to impose the penalties of the law, feel great need of a proper diagnosis of the cases that come before them. We must make progress

along this line and reduce, as we can enormously, the causes of crime in this country by handling the problem in the German fashion, which, for want of a better word, we will call '*gruendlich*'—from the bottom. I trust, if you believe that something of this sort ought to be done, you will interest yourself in the movement.

"Chicago has led the world in the establishment of the juvenile court. That court has gone around the world. It is doing something in the matter of city courts, and it ought to do something in the handling of the criminal problem. I have great faith in the result, not so much of agitation, as of the establishment somewhere of a concrete example. As soon as any city has established a concrete example, within five or ten years every city in the land will seek to get it. If you were told to-day that there was no need of buying gasoline, that automobiles could be propelled by air, you would simply wonder about it and pay no further attention to it; but if some one came down Michigan avenue in an automobile that was propelled by drawing in air, you would say: 'How much does it cost?'—you would want one immediately. So in the solution of these psychological problems; when anybody gets something that is better than we have, we want to have it, because nothing is too good for the progressive American." (Applause.)

THE CHAIRMAN—"One of our sister states, New Jersey, not only has a place for epileptics, but she is doing the right thing, or a very near approach to it, for other classes of persons whose mental condition needs study and care. They are taking advanced steps there in trying to study and find out some of the things underlying the enormous increase of the classes which become burdens on the state. That is an expensive thing for society and it is an unfortunate thing for the individual who must be cared for. At the head of this research department, which is located in Vineland, New Jersey, is Dr. Hickson, the next speaker.

"Dr. Hickson has recently returned from making some investigations abroad, and will tell us of his observations of the manner in which Germany treats some of its unfortunate classes. In

America, as I say, it is admitted that we spend about seven billion dollars a year taking care of people who have broken the law, who must be apprehended, prosecuted and punished. I heard Judge Olson say but recently that about 25 per cent of all the people who are convicted and imprisoned, have been found, upon examination, to be seriously defective in some way, physically or mentally. Now that is an enormous fact. Nobody knows how far defective mentality may have led people to commit offenses, and to fall below the line where they could take care of themselves.

"I take pleasure in introducing to you Dr. W. J. Hickson." (Applause.)

Dr. W. J. Hickson

"Mr. Chairman and Members of the City Club of Chicago:

"I shall treat the subject under discussion from two standpoints, namely: (1) Insanity at the time of committing a crime; (2) insanity among criminals. There is a saying in Germany that you can tell an American a long way off, but that you can't tell him much. However this may be, I think that if we Americans would be a little more teachable when we go abroad, especially when we visit some of the more advanced countries, such, for instance, as Germany, that there is much that we could bring home and apply to advantage. For instance, there is the parcels post which we are now introducing into America which has been in existence in Germany for years. There are a host of other things which have been in successful operation in Germany for years, such as postal saving, employers' liability, sale of vegetables by weight, etc., many of which I would like to speak of if I had time, all of which we need.

Thorough-going Methods of the Germans

"Germany itself is not averse to learning from other peoples. For example, a few years ago, when the reform of the criminal laws was proposed, Germany investigated the laws of practically all other countries and the result appeared in a set of 16 large volumes. From these findings, new laws were drawn up and submitted to the people for a number of years for discussion, consideration, and amendment before adoption.

The above example also illustrates the thoroughness with which the Germans attack a problem. They make haste slowly: but they make haste, and on account of proceeding so circumspectly, they seldom, if ever, have to retrace their steps. It has been said that modern jurisprudence is emphatically a German creation. I think, therefore, that anything that lends itself to adoption, that would be an improvement on what we have, should be applied by us. Germany has not hesitated to learn from America on occasion. No one country has a monopoly of the world's wisdom.

General Principles for the Care of the Criminal Insane

"My work for the past two and a half years in Europe has been largely in the field of normal and abnormal psychology, and one does not realize how much there is for us to learn from the Germans, in the latter subject especially, until one is confronted with it over there. The subject of psychiatry has made wonderful advances with them in the past two decades, due, no doubt, to the excellent psychopathological laboratories they have developed, without which their progress would not have been attainable. Psychiatry, at present in Germany, is in the van with the most advanced branches of medicine.

"It is very difficult, however, to approach the question at issue without, at the same time, being drawn into a discussion of the problem of criminal responsibility as it is affected by the freedom of the will, determinismus, indeterminismus, causality of psychical events, etc. In order to avoid all of these harassing problems, I have learned for practical purposes to regard the matter from the same standpoint as that of my much honored former chief, Prof. Bleuler of Zurich, who, leaving out all consideration of the academic side of these questions, takes the bull by the horns and simply says that an individual who is a menace to society should be isolated. For this reason, and also to bring my main points into as sharp relief as possible, I shall refrain from entering upon any extended discussion of either the above questions, or the details, in the carrying out of the procedure to be

recommended and shall dwell, therefore, only upon the principles involved themselves.

Purely Legal Punishment Unjust to the Insane

"Legal punishment is inflicted with three objects in view, namely: First, retaliation; second, intimidation; third, reformation. Now it is quite obvious that none of the above purposes are effective with the insane, surely not reformation. If there is any intimidation, it is only on normal people who fear the consequences to themselves of inflicting unjust punishment on the irresponsible insane. That leaves only retaliation as having any 'standing in court,' and that is the saddest aspect of it all. The criminal insane, the mattoids, who constitute so large a portion of the chronic offenders, are examples of the ineffectualness of our present retaliatory methods of dealing with irresponsibles and are a living reproach to our humanity and justice.

"In Germany there are from 5 to 7 insane in every 100 prisoners of the prison population, and this does not include all of the lighter forms, such as those of the defectives, degenerates, psychopaths, alcoholics, etc. Insanity is at least ten times more frequent in prisons of Germany than in the outside population.

"The eye for an eye, the unrelenting retributive doctrine is now obsolete, or should be at least, in its application to those who are irresponsible. We do not consider a child under the age of responsibility as guilty when it has committed an overt act. Yet we do the criminal insane and mental defectives, who are in most cases mentally below the age of responsibility and who are equally irresponsible. The basis of all punishment of a deed presupposes responsibility, and the basis of putting it into effect is the efficacy of that punishment. Yet both of these bases are lacking in practically all of the criminal insane and feeble-minded on whom legal punishment is inflicted. These are only two of the many inconsistencies that exist in our present methods of treating these cases in America today, and illustrating how far the law lags behind and fails to take advantage of the advances of other

sciences, such as psychology, sociology, medicine, etc.

"I am afraid that future generations will look back upon our present methods of treating these cases with the same abhorrence with which we look back upon the treatment of the insane not so very long ago, when they were regarded as being beset by devils, and were maltreated and mishandled accordingly. It is only as late as 1862 that the Supreme Court of North Carolina, in pronouncing judgment, said: 'To know right and still the wrong pursue, proceeds from a perverse will brought about by the seductions of the evil one.'

"It has been said that all mankind may be divided into certain well defined groups based on their behavior. For instance, men who pursue surgery as a profession are of a sadistic nature. Should not those members of the legal fraternity who ignore the question of the different degrees of responsibility and their treatment founded on scientific studies and can only see the retributive side when insane criminals are brought into court—should not such lawyers with more propriety be so classified? No doubt this same class of the legal profession obstructs the carrying out of your noble efforts along the lines of child and adult probation.

Dealing With the Criminal Insane in America

"The present system in America of dealing with the criminal insane is unsatisfactory to all concerned—to the bar, the medical profession, and the laity—especially in cases where experts testify; and there has long been a demand for a change from the existing disgraceful and scandalous proceedings which have been, in many instances, only travesties on justice. The time is ripe for this change, and I think almost anything would be welcomed that would offer relief from the present objectionable system. Not very long ago, I was told by a clergyman who attended to the spiritual needs of two men who had been executed, that they were both undoubtedly insane, but had neither the money nor the friends to intercede for them. This could not happen under the German method; not only would they be protected under

paragraph 51, but also under paragraph 485, clause 2, which reads: 'Capital punishment shall not be inflicted on the insane.'

"There is at present, both here and abroad, a cleavage noticeable in the ranks of the legal profession dividing it in two parties: First, those who adhere to a strictly severe retributive form of justice, punishing crime as an objective offense with a definite sentence, whom I call the traditional or unscientific class; and, second, those taking advantage of modern research in psychology, sociology, anthropology, etc., in the legal treatment of crime, who take account of the psychophysical element present in both the crime and the criminal, who take a subjective view and punish the criminal rather than his specific crime, basing the punishment on a study of his physical condition, social standing, training, congenital predisposition, etc. This second division I call the humane or scientific class. Its work seems to me to be a preparation for a still larger field, towards which several lines of human endeavor are converging, one of which, eugenics, means the betterment of the race, and all tend to reduce crime. We have preventive medicine, why not preventive law?

German Procedure When Insanity Is Suspected

"Having tried to advance some reason why we should seek a change, I will now present what I think will be the remedy for this whole situation, which is practically an adoption of the German penal code and procedure modified to meet our institutions. The particular part of this code on which this whole matter rests is contained in paragraph 51, which reads as follows:

"There is no punishable act, if, at the time of commission, the actor was in a state of unconsciousness or of morbid disturbance of the mental faculties which excluded the free determination of his will."

"It is seen here that through the text of this paragraph the question of guilt is identical with the question of mental soundness. This being the case, what is more natural, when there is a suspicion of mental defect, than investigating the malady at the very outset? This pre-

supposes that a crime has been admitted and that there is a suspicion of insanity. Where this suspicion exists the examining judge, prosecuting attorney, or trial judge, is constrained to take cognizance of it, and must have the mentality of the accused subjected to the examination of experts. The question of the mental soundness of the accused can be brought to the attention of any of the above mentioned officials by the accused himself, his friends, or his lawyer, or any other person or persons. Most of the cases that I had to do with personally came either from the examining judge, who exercises the same function as our grand jury, or from the public prosecutor. Until the time the charge is publicly announced, the question of the irresponsibility of the accused is in the hands of those connected with the public prosecutor's office. After the charge has been published, the affair lies in the hands of the trial judge and he may, at any stage of the proceedings, when the question of mental soundness is brought up, stop the trial and order an examination by experts, sending the case, if need be, to an asylum for observation, but for no longer than six weeks, in order to establish a diagnosis. If the accused is found at any time in this period to have been insane at the time of his act, to have been irresponsible according to paragraph 51, the trial is immediately closed, the accused declared 'not guilty' and sent to an asylum. Here he is kept until, in the judgment of the director of the institution, he is cured or sufficiently harmless to be released, his liberation being sanctioned by the prosecuting attorney. Different states have different laws in regard to this point, ranging from immediate dismissal, if mental soundness has returned, to detention for two years in the asylum from the time of showing a return to normal mentality. The entire situation is thoroughly surrounded by safeguards which circumvent its abuse from one side or the other.

"Let us suppose a case for an illustration. A man commits a crime, is arrested and taken with the data in the case before the examining judge, who corresponds in function to our grand jury here. If the judge sees in the conduct of the prisoner, in the nature of the

crime, in the evidence, or what not, a suspicion that the accused was not mentally normal at the time of the crime, or if the prisoner himself, his attorney, relation, friends or any one else should raise this question, the judge is constrained to order an examination into the matter by experts. If the insanity is very outspoken, the matter is usually decided by the experts wherever the accused is confined. In cases, however, where there is any question about the matter, or simulation suspected, at the request of the experts the accused may be sent to an observation pavilion of an insane asylum to be studied. It is not permitted to detain such a person in such an institution for a period longer than six weeks for such a purpose. Such clinics, with their psychopathological laboratories, are to be found in all the larger cities of Germany, sometimes in connection with a general hospital for the insane, many times as independent institutions. If, in the judgment of the experts, the prisoner was insane, according to paragraph 51, at the time of the deed, the examining judge declares him not guilty, and hence, so far as the courts are concerned, he is entirely free from any further prosecution for his crime. As a safeguard it is further provided that he cannot be discharged from the insane asylum at any time without the sanction of the prosecuting attorney, except where this discharge is specifically provided for in the statutes. Likewise in deciding the mental status of cases in civil instances, the same machinery is used.

Advantages of the German System

"What, then, are the advantages of the German system over our own? In a few words, they are these:

"*First*—The Germans have an insanity act based on intelligent scientific data, adjusted to fit all forms of mental disease. Ours, on the contrary (the right and wrong test), is only applicable to one form of mental disease, and yet we try to measure all cases with it, with the unsatisfactory results which we all know only too well.

"*Second*—The question as to the sanity of the case is settled at the very outset. This leaves the field clear for the trial to proceed on the merits of

the case, and the judge, prosecuting attorney, and jury are free to go ahead fearlessly without any qualms in the performance of their duties. It practically eliminates the misusing of the insanity plea as a last resort. It prevents the defense from taking the court by surprise with the plea of insanity and an army of experts to back it up which the court is not prepared to meet.

"*Third*—The court appoints the experts who, according to law, are bound to serve and their emoluments are also regulated. This obviates the present method here of both sides employing an army of talent to refute each other regardless of the facts in the case and only tending to muddle the minds of the jury. Appropos of this, some one has well said that there is nothing more certain than the uncertainty of the honest opinions of individuals composing the jury. Consequently there need be no surprise at the varying verdicts which are returned as to the sanity or insanity of a criminal. In Germany, the judge decides on the expert evidence submitted, as both in training and experience, he is best qualified for this important duty.

"*Fourth*—The German procedure puts the rich and the poor on an equal footing, which is quite in contrast with the present methods in vogue here.

"*Fifth*—If the case should really be one of insanity, trials as carried out here are most prejudicial to the mental condition of the criminal; and if he should be convicted and sentenced, and at the end of his term of imprisonment be released, it would only be a short time when he would probably again be in the toils of the law. The recurrence of crime in this way follows the fact that many of these cases are slaves to their diseases, and their criminal acts are only symptoms and manifestations of it, and thus it is that the vicious circle is established, the dreary repetition of a short period of freedom and a long period in the penitentiary is instituted. In the German method, all of this is avoided. The insane are practically always detected and sent to an institution where the proper care is administered, both as regards the rights of patients and those of the public.

"*Sixth*—In border-land cases there is a question of lessened responsibility. It leaves the judge the discretion of administering milder punishment. Under our present system the accused must be declared either guilty or not guilty.

"*Seventh*—To introduce the German procedure will not necessitate any very radical changes in our present methods. We have simply placed the cart before the horse. If we could change the time of making the plea of insanity to the outset of the proceedings, we would have at once secured one of the advantages of their system.

"*Eighth*—Our judges and public prosecutors, as is the case in Germany, should be made to feel that they are just as much obligated to see justice done to the innocent as to the guilty, and that their merits should not be based solely on the number of convictions they secure.

Psychopathological Laboratory Recommended

"Of course, the treatment of this whole subject presupposes the existence of a well equipped psychopathological laboratory such as they have in all the largest cities of Germany. Medicine takes advantage of every possible means to make a correct diagnosis before instituting treatment in a case. Why should not the law do likewise in order to be in a position to treat these cases legally with proper intelligence? It is the border-land cases especially where this laboratory will render some of its greatest service. Well informed judges, as well as physicians, realize that these cases should not be sent to asylums, where the arrangements are faulty, and that the scientific insight into these cases would be done violence to if they should be sent to prison. The psychopathological laboratory is the antidote to lawless law. What is needed for these cases is specially constructed institutions similar to those for the chronic alcoholics. Chicago has blazed the way in many lines to give us all the advantages of civilization without the disadvantages. We hope that in this matter she will continue her past fine reputation." (Applause.)

THE CHAIRMAN—"Gentlemen, we have here today Mr. N. W. MacChesney,

who is the head of the American Institute of Criminal Law and Criminology. Mr. MacChesney will say a word as to what is being done by that organization.

N. W. MacChesney

"Mr. Chairman and Gentlemen of the City Club: I will take just a moment of your time to tell you what has already been accomplished in the direction that we have heard about today, because it is interesting to those of us who live in Chicago to know of it; and to know that a great movement which was intended to bring this about was started in Chicago four years ago when the first national conference on criminal law and criminology was closed here at the Northwestern University.

Change in Attitude Towards Criminology

"Reference has been made here to the change in the attitude toward the problem of criminology. The so-called classical sense of regarding the law as being 'an eye for an eye and a tooth for a tooth,' was the accepted sense, and so long as that was so, the bar was not to blame for looking only at the law which was violated. It was an objective fact—was the law violated or was it not? It made no difference whether the man was to blame or whether he was not to blame. If the law was violated, the court had to administer the penalty, and it was the duty of the bar to find out what the penalty should be. The bar has been criticised because it has failed to keep pace with the psychology of the question. But the bar is not altogether to blame, because, after all, the law is made by the public.

"So soon, however, as it began to be recognized that a crime was not a mere objective violation of the statute, but was a subjective fact; when it began to be recognized that the center and the circumference of the whole question was the fact that an eye should always be kept upon the rights of society, and yet there should be taken into consideration all the surrounding circumstances, the bar at once became aware that new methods must be adopted. So upon these questions, under the auspices of the bar, if you please, there was called together this great conference in this city

four years ago, which has done much along these lines already. One of the very first reports was one upon data concerning criminology, much of which was worked out on the basis of work done in the institution from which Dr. Hickson comes; and that report was made public and sent broadcast throughout the country.

The Institution of American Law and Criminology

"Judge Olson, as the progressive head of the progressive court, ordered it applied in the Municipal Court of Chicago; and if the appropriation had been available to enable us to carry on that work, we would already have been doing in Chicago what has been recommended in this paper today. It only remains to get financial assistance to carry out this scheme. This Institution of American Law and Criminology was founded and has received endowment, as many of you know, from the Carnegie Foundation and from the Russell Sage Foundation. It has founded a journal, published every two months here in this city, which has already done very much to familiarize the bar with the work being done abroad.

"It was recognized by the men at the head of that movement that the American lawyers and the American public were far behind the German lawyers and the German public; and so one of the first things the American Institute needed to do was to translate the leading works abroad in this field, so that they might be available to the American public. The American Institution has made arrangements for the translation of a great many scientific works and has already published four books. Legislation has been carried on in various states, in accordance with this work, and only last year there were three or four supreme courts which asked for special investigations along these various lines.

"Two years ago the American Institute sent a committee abroad to study in Europe the question of the criminal insane; and Professor Keedy of the Northwestern University is now at the head of the committee on crime and insanity which will report next year at Montreal upon this question. So I think the American bar and the American public are

waking up to this great problem; and the men here in Chicago are fully alive to the significance of it, and the American Institute of Criminal Law and Criminology knows that the legal profession is devoting its time, its money, and its energies in a very effective way to bring about the cause which Dr. Hickson has said, and said so well, we need to consider at this time in connection with this very serious American problem." (Applause.)

THE CHAIRMAN—"Dr. Healy, as you all know, for the past two or three years has been studying and observing the children appearing before the Juvenile Court. I take pleasure in introducing Dr. William Healy, director of the Juvenile Psychopathic Institute of the Juvenile Court of Chicago." (Applause.)

Dr. William Healy

"Mr. Chairman: For a study of the underlying causes of criminality which can be practically attacked, we early determined that the Juvenile Court offered the best advantages and that there we ourselves could be of most service. In this country, we have not progressed far enough to have even elementary statistics bearing on this whole problem. From researches made abroad, and particularly from the figures of Matz, who studied carefully the beginnings of criminality in the Province of Pommern, we learned that practically all confirmed criminals begin their careers at least as early as adolescence. This bears on the point which Dr. Hickson has made, namely, that the Germans, when they set out to get statistics or do anything, do it thoroughly.

Progress in the Study of Criminology in Chicago

"We started our own work some four years ago with the advice of many of the best men of the country, psychologists and medical specialists, and we formulated a first plan of study which was later adopted in schedule form and published by the American Institute of Criminal Law and Criminology, the schedule to which Mr. MacChesney has alluded. Our own work will ultimately be published in the form of a study of the different types of delinquents.

"One finds out, of course, that insanity in its relationship to criminality is important, but it is by no means as large a factor as many people think. The problem of the feeble-minded has much greater correlation to criminality. Altogether, a well-rounded study of individual cases is necessary in order to determine to which type they belong and what may consequently be done about it. The field for this work is tremendous and involves various constructive measures for individuals who have various personal problems in the background which they may be at least helped to solve, if taken early in life.

Proposed Juvenile Court Law for New York

"I was much interested in receiving within the week the draft of a new juvenile court law for the state of New York, written by Chief Justice Deuel of the Court of Special Sessions. One of the main proposals of that draft is outlined at length and covers a number of pages and savors of the German plan which we have heard of today. It calculates to empower the court in each locality to appoint a professional friend of the court to help in the study of individuals upon a medical and psychological basis in

order that the court may render its decisions upon a more scientific, not to say common sense basis.

"If such a law is enacted, it will be of the greatest advantage. Various courts have undertaken to get such advice upon their own volition. Here in Chicago, we stand in this relation to Judge Pinckney. Elsewhere it has been carried even further. In Seattle every individual coming to the juvenile court first is studied in a definitive 'Department of Diagnosis' before ever he is seen by the judge. In this way the court can hear what has been ascertained by a cross section study of the individual, a medical and psychological study, and also can hear what has been ascertained about his social and environmental antecedents. In Minneapolis a still more thorough-going scheme is being evolved; there they have a fine detention home with a large acreage in the outskirts of the city where an individual may be detained for the purposes of study and every constructive possibility may be ascertained about him. It is astonishing how such an approach to the problem wins the co-operation of the parents. It is just such work as this that Chief Justice Deuel has in mind to be carried out and paid for under the provisions of the law." (Applause.)



The City Club Bulletin

Published by the CITY CLUB OF CHICAGO, 315 Plymouth Court

DWIGHT L. AKERS, Editor*

VOLUME VI

THURSDAY, MARCH 13, 1913

NUMBER 5

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A NEAR VIEW OF CONGRESS

At the mid-day meeting of the City Club, Wednesday, February 12, 1913, the guest of honor, Mr. Lynn Haines, of Washington, was introduced by Congressman-elect Charles M. Thomson, presiding officer. Mr. Thomson's introductory remarks were as follows:

THE CHAIRMAN—"We are assembled to-day to listen to a talk upon a subject of vital interest to our entire nation. To-day is the birthday of the great Lincoln, the man who lived and loved; who fought and gave his life for his country, that it might truly be a free and a united country, and that this might be in every sense a government of the people, for the people, and by the people. If it may truly be said that our government, as it is conducted, is a government for the people, certainly nothing is more important than that the legislative branch of the government may be such as to give free expression to the will of the majority of the people. If the rules and the methods that are in vogue in Congress are such as to make it possible for any special interest or any group of people which constitute a minority to prevent a fair and a reasonable consideration of any proposed law, then is not our national legislature falling short of its proper function?

"Many of us, I am sure, have heard such an indictment as this lodged or

made against one or both of the houses of Congress, and we shall be interested in learning what the real situation is. I fear sometimes that it is not accurately reflected in the usual sources of information which we have at our disposal. We are so far removed from the real workings of this body that the actual facts are difficult if not impossible of ascertainment.

"We are all glad to have with us to-day, Mr. Lynn Haines, who has spent some time in Washington making an exhaustive study of the American Congress, one of the greatest legislative bodies in the world, and who has written something upon the conduct of its business. Before going to Washington, Mr. Haines was engaged in publicity work in Minnesota, and got out one or two little books several years ago on the records of the members of the legislature of the State of Minnesota. The result of publishing the facts as to their records was to retire to private life some of the older reactionary members of the legislature in that state. It may be that at some time in the future he may do such a work in Washington.

"I am sure the things that he will tell us about Congress and its methods, giving us a near view of Congress, will be very interesting, and it is a privilege to present Mr. Haines to you." (Applause.)

Mr. Lynn^T Haines

"Gentlemen of the City Club: I never face an audience without being reminded of the first attempt I ever made at public speaking. That was away back in the campaign of 1896. My impressions of that maiden speech are not very clear to me now, but I do remember that I was well satisfied when it was over, and that I continued to feel elated until the returns came in. Then I discovered that in the precinct where I spoke, a precinct which included a village of a thousand people and a part of one township, my candidate had received just eight votes. I could not understand it myself, and I asked a friend to explain. He said that probably those eight voters did not get out to the meeting. (Laughter.)

"Now, gentlemen, I regret very much that I cannot bring to this occasion a better equipment for service, but in spite of that I am glad of the opportunity to be here. Long ago I heard and believed a report that the City Club of Chicago was an institution which did not serve its punches in a bowl.

"Later I got another glimpse of the character of your activities when Stiles P. Jones, the George E. Hooker of Minneapolis, confided to me that he wanted to organize a body which would develop such a civic spirit as the Chicago City Club has shown. The result was The Saturday Lunch Club of Minneapolis, an organization so militant that it at once became one of the greatest political powers for good in Minneapolis. The Saturday Lunch Club can be said to have sprung from the loins of your experience, an origin which it recently justified by becoming defendant in a libel suit. (Laughter.)

"I think I got an even better idea of what this club might be like through the opportunity I have to observe the two-handed fighting of a former member, a man whom you later sent back to help reclaim the corrupt commonwealth in the 'far west' from which he came. Without any doubt, gentlemen, the most active and the most useful man in the House of Representatives at the present time is William Kent, of Chicago and California. (Applause.)

The Odds Against Useful Men in the House

"Congress contains several members who approach the vigilance and valor of Kent. Several more will join that group as a result of the recent election. I understand that you are sending to the House of Representatives a fire-tested fighter named Thomson. I am not going to spend any time, however, in trying to tell you of the work of such men in Congress. I want to devote a few minutes rather to suggesting indirectly, if you will permit that method, why the work of such men as William Kent and Charles M. Thomson has been, and will be, practically fruitless.

"The most important thing for us to consider in connection with Congress is its isolation. The great crucial fact that the people know practically nothing about conditions in Congress explains why men like Kent are almost powerless there. More than that—and this is a point I would like to have you keep in mind while I talk—the fact that there are in Congress powerful, persistent, determined men like Kent, giving every wakeful hour to the public weal, explains why, now and heretofore, there have been set in motion great, unseen, subtle agencies through which the people are kept in darkness as to what Congress is and does.

Two Kinds of Graft in America

"Graft in this country, while its manifestations may assume many forms, can all be placed in two classifications. The first class of graft can be called special privilege; the other, political plunder, which ramifies into the great spoils system about which Professor Merriam speaks so pointedly. In times past these two elements have been closely associated. The special interests and professional politicians have stood shoulder to shoulder on everything. Now that is passing in the congressional field. But that does not mean through improved conditions or juster laws. It does mean a change of methods. It means that the Lorimers and Archbolds are being held up to public view and thrown overboard, because the time has come when the special interests must be served through a safer, subtler system. This is the least understood and the most critical of any

tendency in our political life today. It ought to have an hour of discussion rather than half a minute.

The Present Situation

"Here is the situation in a nutshell. Formerly the special interests maintained their advantages over the people directly through such crude means as the stealing and stuffing of ballots, the colonization of voters and the bribery of legislators and executors and judges. Now all that is passing. Today the interests and individuals that are opposed to the development of democracy, both industrially and in politics, depend upon so shaping sentiment, upon so manipulating public opinion that the people will give them what they want—and bless them for the opportunity.

"This turning and twisting of sentiment has two objects, one positive, the other negative. In the first, the special interests focus favorable public attention upon the things they want. The negative kind consists in diverting public attention away from situations and results which the special interests do not want changed. I am not going to take even a minute for illustrations of the positive, but I do want to suggest a few things about conditions in Congress which illustrate the negative kind of manipulation.

"On the way down here this morning, in response to the anxious inquiry of an anxious relative as to what I expected to present to you, I answered, 'The Rules.' 'But,' he objected, 'nobody is interested in the rules now.' That might be true, gentlemen, if we were to consider base-ball rules or foot-ball rules or the rules that govern poker. In such cases the rules do not interfere with the game. Congressionally it is different. Today the rules, or rather the system—and I am speaking now only of the House of Representatives—today the rules give to a few men, in reality to less than a dozen men, the right or the power or the privilege, whatever you call it, to say whether a bill shall pass in ten days or ten years. It does not make a bit of difference whether your interest lies in financial legislation or tariff legislation or trust legislation or revision of the constitution or in any specific thing or things, ultimately in every case you must

get back to the parliamentary situation. If you seek enlightenment as to any legislative measure, you will get practically nothing from a study of the history of that measure itself. Back of every proposal and of every action, where there is action, there is a subtle something, vital and determinative, which must first be comprehended.

Parliamentary Obstruction

"There is only one course for a bill to take in the House of Representatives. Once, in company with an old woodsman, I spent six hours trying to get a team through two miles of forest. There was a road, the only road, but a storm had felled great trees across our path. Every few rods we had to stop and chop our way through. It is like that in Congress. There is only one road, and it is full of parliamentary obstructions. That is the idea, the central idea of the system—obstruction.

Gradually in years gone by there developed in Congress that condition with which you are all familiar, called Cannonism. The people rightly associated that parliamentary situation with the unsatisfactory results of every session. It formed slowly, but in time there came a tidal wave of sentiment in favor of reforming the rules. The climax of that popular uprising was reached in the elections two years ago.

Passing of Cannonism

"Sometimes I think of Washington as the stage of a great national theater. This element of publicity which I am asking you to keep in mind might be likened to the spotlight, which can be shifted here and there about the stage. For years the people kept encoring every number that showed up poor Uncle Joe, and the spotlight was pretty constantly focused on Cannonism; but as quick as a flash, after the elections of 1910 decreed the passing of Cannonism, the spotlight was shifted away from the parliamentary situation, and it has never illuminated that part of the stage for a single instant since. It is an intangible thing and an intangible situation, this perverted publicity. It was manipulated public opinion with a vengeance for a purpose. You all remember the message that went over the country. You may

not have read it or heard anyone state it, but you felt it instinctively. It was this: 'Cannonism is gone; the House of Representatives is now a deliberative body, reclaimed to the people.' With that impression in the public mind, the lights went out; and Cannonism and all that supplanted it was hustled out of sight. Now the question is, what happened behind the scenes?

The Old Régime

"If you will permit me, I would like to read just a few paragraphs from a little book in which I was able to set down some interpretations more leisurely than I can here:

"The country is fairly familiar with that condition in law-making known as Cannonism. Under that system, legislation depended wholly upon the speaker. Each day's work was programmed in advance, and no deviation was permitted. No member could gain recognition without first obtaining a private interview with the speaker, and arranging in advance for the special privilege of the floor. His prayer for recognition had always to be accompanied with an explanation of the purpose for which he desired to make a motion or a speech."

* * * * *

"Cannonism can be summed up briefly. The speaker, as a member and the dominator of the Committee on Rules, made the rules which gave him absolute and arbitrary power over all the activities of the House. He compelled complete obedience to his rules through committee appointments."

"When Cannonism was enjoying its best days in the House, an entirely different system flourished in the Senate. That was known as Aldrichism. In that machine the presiding officer counted for little excepting to execute orders, and in no other vital respect did the Senate system resemble Cannonism. The Senate organized itself, theoretically, through a Committee on Committees. Back of everything was the secret majority party caucus. The floor leader was the big personal power."

"Under Cannonism, Cannon, the presiding officer, organized and dominated the House. Under Aldrichism, Aldrich, the floor leader, named the committees and dominated the Senate. Under the Cannon system the speaker was supreme, the floor leader a figurehead. Under the Aldrich system the floor leader was supreme, the presiding officer a figurehead. The big fact in both systems was control by a few."

"If I had the time I would stop to explain the system of lawmaking that the progressive group stood for. It was entirely different from either the Cannon or the Aldrich systems. Let me read just a little more here:

"Perhaps comparatively not many of the millions of voters understood their own aspirations in this respect, but emancipation of the majority [and that is the fundamental thing we have to fight for everywhere, the giving of power to a majority] was the chief issue in the congressional elections of 1910. The people struck blindly at Cannonism. Not knowing exactly what it meant or how it would work, they wanted the House to organize itself. They demanded a complete change of system in the House. Accordingly, the Democratic minority in the Sixty-first Congress grew to the Democratic majority of sixty-five in the Sixty-second. Clark was chosen speaker, and the system did change, as radically as the most radical could desire."

The New System Contrasted With the Old

"Let us examine the new House system, first comparatively, and then as a separate system. Of course, I am not going to attempt to do that in a little talk, but I did work out a parallel which shows what different phases of the situation were under Cannonism, and then under Underwood, who is now the dominating figure."

"Under Cannon the speaker was supreme and omnipotent. Under Underwood, the speaker, excepting in one comparatively unimportant particular, is shorn of power. The speaker is nothing in the present system, that is, if you do not consider his prestige. He has none of the old arbitrary, absolute authority, except in the case of recognition in certain cases. He can be arbitrary only in that small way."

"Under Cannon the majority party caucus was rarely used or needed. Now the majority party caucus has become the dominating element."

"Under Cannon the Rules Committee, dominated absolutely and arbitrarily by the speaker, made the rules, and was a law unto itself. Now the Rules Committee, dominated by the floor leader and the caucus, makes the rules and retains all its old powers. Its reports are privileged. Its acts or omissions are subject to no higher authority. The House has not the slightest authority over the Rules Committee. It has even less than it has over other committees. It is a steering committee, and can control the fate of all legislation. That is an astounding fact."

"Under Cannon, standing committees were appointed by the speaker. Standing

committees are now appointed by the Ways and Means Committee, of which the floor leader is the chairman.

"Under Cannon, standing committees were wholly free from control by a majority of the House, unless the speaker interposed his arbitrary power in behalf of the majority. Now standing committees are even further removed from control by the majority than when Cannon was deposed as speaker.

"Under Cannon, standing committees kept no public record of their acts. Today standing committees still act in secret.

"Under Cannon, the floor leader was a figurehead. Now the floor leader is supreme.

The New System Criticised.

"In other words, gentlemen, what happened was this: Cannonism was abolished, but instead of improving conditions, the House only shifted to another system, just as vicious and equally unfruitful. The new methods are those Aldrich used in the Senate during the best days of the old oligarchy. All that was done was to substitute the Aldrich oligarchy system for Cannonism.

"I want to read just another paragraph here, and then I will hurry through:

"Underwood and Clark were rival candidates for speaker of the present House of Representatives. Clark was given the speakership, with some of the prestige, but little of the power, that formerly characterized that position. Underwood, on Clark's motion, became chairman of the Ways and Means Committee, which carried with it, at least indirectly, the power to select the committees, influence the rules, dominate the caucus and be floor leader. Clark was given the shadow, Underwood kept the substance. The speaker became the figurehead, the floor leader supreme, which was the Aldrich system."

Control of Important Committees in Bad Hands

"Now, I want to outline, without any discussion to speak of, the new Underwood system. First, I suppose we should consider the question of organization. Under the new system the power to appoint committees was taken away from the speaker, and, as I have suggested, given into the hands of Underwood, the floor leader. Underwood and his Committee on Ways and Means directly placed the Democrats on committees, and he did the same things for the Repub-

licans indirectly through one of your citizens, James R. Mann.

"There is just one important fact to be noted in that connection. It is this, that the control of every important committee was given into the hands of a combination of two bad elements—bad from our point of view. One was Tammany, the other the reactionary Democrats from the South. Practically every member of Congress from the southern states is a reactionary, just as many of us might be, if we lived in that section. Their environment, their industrial situation and the race problem, compel them to be reactionary. Real progressiveness in politics, as I understand it, depends primarily upon liberal election laws, upon the giving of final authority to the people over nominations and elections and legislation. That cannot be done in the South, because if it were, the negroes would dominate. So one can explain, and in a measure justify, the reactionaryism of the South; but it is a sad fact for us to face, because that element is in control of the present House of Representatives.

"Here is something that ought to be suggested, because it will explain why the interests can rebuild a machine from year to year. Mr. Thomson, and every other new member, is not being considered in the organization of the new Congress, which is already being laid down. James R. Mann and Underwood have been working for weeks on the organization of the new Congress, and not a single new member has had or will have the slightest voice in the organization of that body. You can see what it means, the utter exclusion of this new element which comes into every Congress freshly commissioned by the people to do certain things.

Progressives Losing Their Fighting Edge

"I want to say another thing right here. It is the most interesting thing that is going on in Congress at the present time, and it is related to this matter. James R. Mann is taking all the fight out of the Progressive group in Congress. The fighting spirit of the Progressive group in the House of Representatives has never been at so low an ebb since the fight against Cannon started years ago. They have gone to this Pro-

gressive and that Progressive and made little suggestions or offers here and there, which has accomplished the result suggested. Don't think that it is going to make any difference with them as individuals. They will fight just the same as they have always fought, but the group spirit is lacking. It is impossible right now to get the Progressives to stand together and fight on a single issue. That is one of the results of the subtle organization of the new Congress now going on.

"In the fight against Cannon, as you all know, the Progressives succeeded in changing the rules in a way which gave them some authority over standing committees. They gained a new calendar, a calendar of motions to discharge committees. When that calendar was reached—and it could be reached only on a certain day—a member could call up a motion to discharge a certain committee and get a certain measure before the House. One of the first things that the Democrats did in this present Congress was to change that rule. They did not do it openly and directly; they were shifty about it; the move was masked. They put the calendar of motions to discharge committees back of two other orders of business, with the idea that the vital part of the rule would never be effective.

"I have here a House calendar that I put in my bag just as I was leaving Washington. Here is this calendar, the calendar of motions to discharge committees. I think there are about eighty motions filed there. Here is the important thing. That calendar of motions to discharge committees has never been reached once since they changed the rule. It is not the intention that it should be reached. That rule is absolutely nullified, and it means that the standing committees are in absolute control of whatever legislation is placed in their hands.

"I am endeavoring right now to find out exactly the number of bills being held up, but I can safely say that the number of bills now buried in the standing committees of the present Congress will reach several thousand. That is a pretty big fact.

The Revival of the Caucus

"We ought to talk for an hour about the caucus in this new Congress. Underwood and his régime have revived the old secret, discredited caucus. It is the basis of almost everything they do. It has taken away from the House of Representatives practically all its deliberative functions. Measures are introduced into the caucus rather than in the House. They are adopted there and amended there, and then the caucus will bind all its members to vote for that bill when it gets into the House without amendment or motion to recommit. You can see what effect that has on the question of letting the majority rule. A majority of the majority in this caucus determines what shall be done.

"Go further down and you will find that the ultimate authority under this system rests with three men—Underwood, Chairman of the Ways and Means Committee, the floor leader and the dominating figure all the way through; then Fitzgerald, Chairman of the Appropriations Committee, and Henry, Chairman of the Rules Committee. The speaker counts a little, of course, with his prestige, but that is about all.

Mis-use of Conference Committees

"Another vicious part of the system is the same as it was under Cannon, and that relates to conference committees. When the two branches disagree, as they almost always do, a committee on conference is appointed, and under the rules, the committee on conference can put into a measure provisions which neither branch ever considered; and the rules are such that when the conference committee's report is presented, it must be adopted as a whole. No opportunity is given for amendment. Just the other day the committee on conference, in the case of the immigration bill, put in a vicious joker that was never in any bill considered by either body. When the matter came up in the Senate, Senator La Follette said some things about this damnable conference committee system that ought to be known in every home in this country.

Parliamentary Situation Summed Up

"Now, without any discussion at all, I want to leave with you five fundamental

aspects of the parliamentary situation in the House of Representatives:

"First—The rules are not intended to facilitate, but to obstruct legislation.

"Second—Under the present regular rules, if the little oligarchy are not favorable, it is absolutely impossible to legislate. Not a single measure of any importance, which had any opposition, has passed this Congress excepting through a special rule voluntarily reported by the Rules Committee, or else by being made an alien part of some appropriation bill. It is absolutely impossible to pass a measure as an individual bill, and on its own merits.

"Third—The rules, or rather the system, contemplates a deliberate and willful waste of time. Every Congress gives weeks and weeks of unnecessary consideration to appropriation measures for the purpose of preventing the consideration of other things. There is always some privileged matter ready to be brought before the House if a really important economic matter is pending.

"Fourth—There are dozens of dark corners in which members can conceal their real attitude on issues in the House. I am not speaking of the Senate, because conditions are gradually getting better there, due to the fact that that body is smaller, and that it has had more publicity. But in the House it is now almost impossible to get a roll call which will face an issue directly. Roll calls have become mere instruments of filibuster.

"Fifth—This, as I suggested awhile ago, is the fundamental thing of the whole situation—the rules take away from the majority the power to act in every crisis.

A New Member Forewarned

"You are sending Mr. Thomson to Congress. He is one of the new men who will enter the House of Representatives bearing a direct commission from the American people to do certain things, to represent them along certain lines. In the journey from Chicago to the capital he will lose his freedom. Whether or not he wills it so, he will change from your representative to be a slave, or perhaps it would be better to say a victim, of the system.

"Congress is a jail for every new member. If these new members are content to do nothing and to be nothing, to take things as they come, to enjoy their honors and emoluments without work or worry, Congress will be for them a prison of pleasures. Ninety out of every hundred, both new and old, drift with the current. They do not study, nor think. They are not statesmen, serving the needs and aspirations of the people, but congressmen in a political sense, acting only as the personal attorneys of individuals and interests in their districts. This class of congressmen eat, and drink, and sleep a little, basking always in the fawning smiles of the social and political powers above.

"Congressmen are different, but the system is the same for all. If a new member be conscientious; if he have the vision to see and the bravery to do; if he be not a serf in spirit, Congress will be for him a prison indeed.

Farcical Popular Representation

"If I mistake not his caliber and intentions, Mr. Thomson will 'insurge,' loud and long, against the established order. But he will be given no opportunity to serve either his constituents or his country. He will be placed upon no important committees, and the bosses have made the system such that a man must work within a committee or not at all. He may introduce bills, but the oligarchy will arbitrate their fate. He may speak, but only at the sufferance of those within the charmed circle. He will enter Congress determined and dauntless, I have no doubt, but it will not be to labor in the liberty he expects. He will find himself fettered on every hand by tory tradition, and circumscribed at every turn by that damnable, intangible thing called 'senatorial courtesy.' If he chafes and fights, as I think he will, he will be belittled, and discredited, and ostracized, and shorn of power just as completely as he would have been in the best days of Cannon and Aldrich.

"It required a lot of courage, gentlemen, to stand against that old system. It requires just as much bravery, and I believe more of ability, to stand against the system as it is today.

Recommends Wider Publicity

"There is just one way that you and I and the public can help. That is, to learn the exact truth about conditions. No bad legislative situation ever has or ever can exist except in darkness. There must be publicity, complete and constant. The spotlight system must be abolished. Every part of the stage of national legislation and every portion of America's great nation-wide theater of democracy, should have the light of noon-day shining upon it all the time. Publicity must be complete and constant. If it is not, when we are looking here, something will be happening there.

"Just one word more. I do not want to leave you with the impression that I am a pessimist. I have seen a great many things which tend to emphasize the obstacles against which every forward movement has to contend, but conditions have never been so hopeful as they are right now. I have a supreme faith in the people. I believe that ultimately they will correct every evil: they will right every wrong. The time is coming—I think it is almost here—when there will be agencies of light to supplant the present instruments of misrepresentation, of manipulation of opinion, and then the American public, undeceived and fully instructed, will go forward, compelling the fulfillment of the American mission of exact justice to every individual and to every interest." (Applause.)

CHAIRMAN THOMSON—"I might almost be tempted to examine the federal statutes to discover whether there is not some provision there whereby the two-year sentence that I have received might not be shortened in some measure for good behavior. (Laughter). I shall not do so, however. If I can do nothing else, I am going to try to cheer up Billy Kent.

"If there are any questions, you may put them to Mr. Haines at this time."

A MEMBER—"How will the rules be reformed? At a time when some new Congress is organized?"

MR. HAINES—"I ought to have suggested some things about that. I do not mean that I am going to attempt to do so now, but it is really a very difficult problem. The House is now so large that some form of despotism is almost

necessary. One of the bad things we have to face is the fact that the unit of representation continues the same, and therefore as the population increases we add congressmen. The tendency should be in the other direction. I am firmly convinced that the whole system of procedure in the House of Representatives cannot be reformed; it should be wiped off the face of the earth, and an entirely new system evolved which will serve the needs of Congress. The old system is built on tradition; it is all patched up. You have got to begin at the bottom if you are going to get anything done, but by following out a few fundamental principles, I think a remedy or remedies can be provided. First, we should have publicity everywhere. And then the idea of partisanship will have to be abolished. So long as you have partisan organization in Congress, you cannot get a fair organization. It may be a quarter of a century before you can get that idea into the public mind. There should be provisions whereby the majority could rule at any time."

A MEMBER—"We will never get that, I suppose, until we have a majority of congressmen who want it."

MR. HAINES—"You will never get it until you have a different Congress, as you suggest, and the new men who enter every Congress have got to be given a chance to have a hand in it."

A MEMBER—"Is it worth while to try for a new arrangement whereby men may begin to serve soon after they are elected?"

MR. HAINES—"Yes, that is another thing that ought to be done. You see, during the first long session a congressman attends after his election he is working for re-election, and then the short session comes, when he has already been elected or defeated, as the case may be, and he does not feel any impulse to do anything. (Laughter.) Congress ought to meet as soon as possible after election."

A MEMBER—"You speak of publicity. How is it possible to attain publicity with the newspapers in the condition they are?"

MR. HAINES — "You cannot." (Laughter.)

A MEMBER—"What are we to do about it?"

MR. HAINES—"I don't believe I can

answer that. We are now working along that line, some of us in Washington, doing what little we can. That is the big problem in this country, to get real accurate information past the papers and into the hands of the people."

A MEMBER—"Mr. Chairman, I would like to ask a question. How are you going to get assistance in the work that you are now doing? Where do you expect it to come from?"

MR. HAINES—"From citizens, wherever we can find those who are interested. I did not mean to say anything about this. I have been in publicity work for about five years. I got into it because I thought I saw the necessity for doing something along this line. I worked for four years in Minnesota, and then I took up the same work in Congress. I have been working there alone up to this time, but now we are organizing what we call the Congressional Publicity League. The idea is to reconstruct Congress through publicity. We expect that it will take six years, and perhaps longer. We are going to issue a bulletin about once in two weeks, and oftener if some unusual situation develops. That is the way we will get immediate publicity. These bulletins will be sent to our members, and as fast as our finances will permit to such newspapers as will publish them, to libraries, to professors of economy and history in the

universities, to all legitimate agencies of publicity. Then, once a year, we expect to publish a book reviewing the Congress of that period. That will be in the nature of a post-mortem reference work.

"We began about two weeks ago to build this organization. We are working now on the Executive Committee, which will have the governing of it directly. On that committee there will be such men as Professor Merriam here, and we expect to add another representative from this community; Herbert Bigelow, in Ohio; Frederic C. Howe, in New York, the People's Institute man; Professor John R. Commons of Wisconsin University; Fred S. Jackson, one of the best Progressives in Congress, who fell by the wayside at the last election and is therefore eligible; Stiles P. Jones of Minneapolis, who holds the same relation to that community that Mr. Hooker does here; Mrs. Elizabeth I. Evans of Boston, who has been fighting for the minimum wage. We are building the Executive Committee from that class of people. To supplement the work of the Executive Committee, there will be an Advisory Committee of one hundred, which will be made up of the people in various sections of the country who are really doing things.

"There are people everywhere who are interested and more than willing to help, but the problem is to find them." (Applause.)



A COMMUNITY SURVEY IN THE TWENTY-FIRST WARD

On Saturday, February 15, 1913, Rev. John Timothy Stone, D. D. presided at the mid-day meeting of the City Club, at which Mr. G. B. St. John was guest of honor.

The introduction by Dr. Stone follows:

THE CHAIRMAN—"I think all of us feel, as members of this Club, that we wish to share in anything that has any relationship whatever to the civic betterment of our city; and we want to share this with others. We feel thus in regard to this survey of the 21st Ward, or rather the old portion of that ward. Perhaps a word of introduction may be proper.

"The objective one has, influences his work. Our work may appeal to some of you men for we feel that every religious or social or philanthropic organization in our city, or in any part of our city, ought to be constructive rather than destructive in its work, and seek, so far as possible, to help others. We feel that it is just as necessary for an organization and a church to know its community as for a man to know himself. We cannot do the work in the community unless we know the actual facts about that community. We found in this survey that a great many things which seemed to have authority are not true, and a great many things which people supposed were not true, are really facts. I think we ought to have a few facts as to the size of our city. We think sometimes that the governors of Wisconsin and Utah are men of tremendous power, and doubtless they are. But in our own city we have as many people as there are in the states of Wisconsin, Idaho, Montana, New Mexico, Nevada, Wyoming, and the Hawaiian Islands and Alaska thrown in, with a couple of hundred thousand people still left. So you see we have something of a city.

"Now, take this one ward—the 21st Ward. Let me say that the old ward had North avenue as its northern boundary, but the present ward has been extended further up to Fullerton avenue. Some of these figures relate to the old ward and some to the lower portion of the

new. In our survey we have left out two or three streets on the western portion, because our particular church problem does not so directly touch them. The 21st Ward alone has in it three-quarters as many people as all of Alaska. It has more than half as many people in it as the entire state of Nevada.

"We wish, so far as possible, to give over the data we have collected to all organizations which are willing to follow up this work. We do not wish to do more ourselves than we hope other people will do; but we want people and churches to face the problems with us.

"I do not wish to extend this introduction, because we all want to hear Mr. St. John of New York, who has conducted the canvass and guided this community survey. I wish to give him the time and to give you the opportunity to ask him questions. You will be permitted to interrupt him to ask questions."

Mr. G. B. St. John

Mr. Chairman and Members of the City Club:

For the sake of an exhaustive study of the Fourth Presbyterian Church community a limited area was chosen. It is bounded on the south by the Chicago river, on the north by North avenue, on the west by the east side of North Clark street and on the east by Lake Michigan.

It was felt that if the church was to serve the community in a broad, efficient manner it must know that community very minutely. In order to do this a house-to-house canvass was made of the entire section, ascertaining the following points:

1. Names of occupants of houses.
2. Nationality.
3. Name of church attended.
4. Classification of occupants, under the following divisions:

- (a) Ages.
- (b) Sunday school membership.
- (c) Communicants of local church.
- (d) Communicants of church, not local.
- (e) Non-communicants.

5. Church preferences.
6. Number of children away at school.
(a) Name and location of school.
7. Remarks about the family.

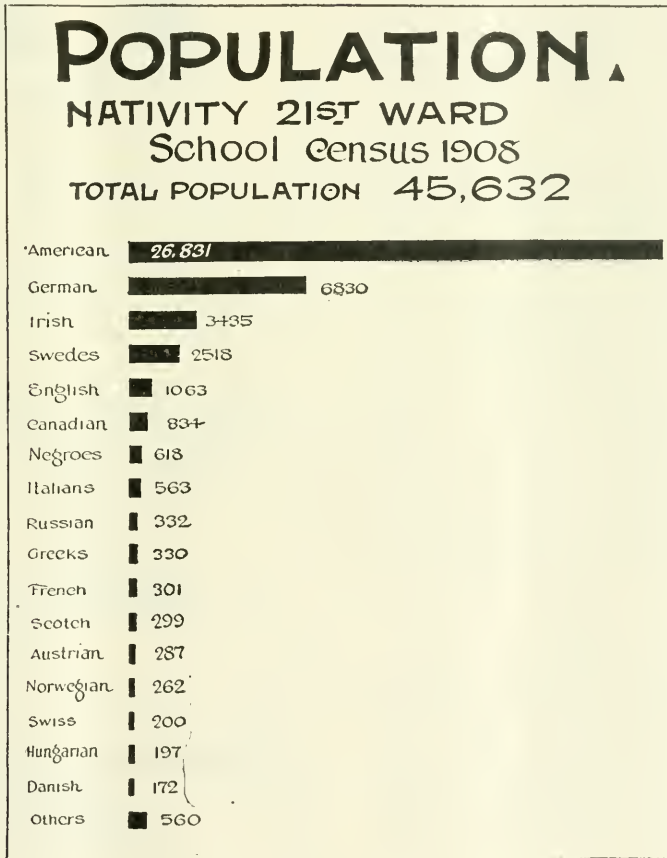
The various social agencies have been carefully studied. Detailed information was secured concerning the destructive as well as the constructive agencies which tend either to the building up of the community or to its destruction.

The church has been criticized by scientific students of social problems in many cases for its *laissez faire* attitude toward general community welfare. A great endeavor has been made in this survey to ascertain in a very definite and practical way how each and every uplifting organized social agency in this field,

of work. Great interest has been expressed and co-operation extended by the various organized societies in this survey and in the attempt to bring about a closer relationship between the church and the social agencies.

General Characteristics

The Fourth Church community is practically a downtown field. Like many other city fields, it is rapidly changing. A map of the area has been made, showing in a graphic way the location of dwellings, flats, stores, factories, and of wholesale and storage plants. To one who has been familiar with the field for some years a study of this map will show at once the fact that not only are the stores and shops rapidly pushing into the resi-



or whose work extends into the boundaries of this field, may use the plant and the workers of the Fourth Presbyterian Church to help in their particular lines

dential sections, but that the large factories and wholesale houses are crowding well up into the territory.

A study of land values, together with

a careful analysis of building operations, shows that much of the territory will be occupied by private residences and apartment houses and apartment hotels for many years to come.

In the section below Chicago avenue, in what is known as the north levee district, are found many hundred boarding houses and lodging houses.

Social service experts who have worked in various sections of the city for years state that nowhere in Chicago can be found a more difficult field to work than this north levee area. Here is housed an army of people—on the one hand maintaining a high standard of living in the various hotels and attractive apartment houses, most of them within walking distance of the loop district, while on the other hand is another army of people tucked away in the rows of cheap lodging and rooming houses, hiding, many times, from former associates, maintaining an extremely low standard of living. They are also within walking distance of the loop district. They are near the cheap amusements and cheap restaurants. They are directly in touch with the worst dance halls and saloons of the lowest type in the city.

In many fields a type of mind is easy to find, or a few type groups. This is in no wise true in the Fourth Church community. From the Lake Shore drive to the red-light district of lower Clark and Rush streets are to be found groups of people living under every conceivable standard. Perhaps no other given area in Chicago could furnish as many types of people, with their corresponding problems, as does the Fourth Church community.

Population

For the exact population figures, the territory known at the time of the 1910 United States census as the Twenty-first Ward has been considered. The United States census figures show this area to contain 47,906 persons. There is an average population of 63.56 persons per acre.

The minor population of the district is decreasing. The adult population, as shown by the registered voters, is increasing.

In 1910 there were 10,038 registered voters in the Twenty-first Ward, while in 1911 there were 11,442. Of the population 82.7 per cent, or 39,632, are



adults, leaving about 8,274, or 17.3 per cent, minors.

The following facts from the school census of 1908 are most significant:

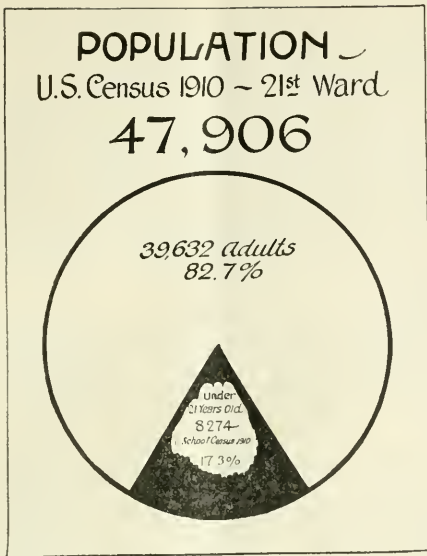
Total population of Twenty-first Ward		45,632
Over 21	(82.6%)	37,676
Under 21, over 16.....		1,850
Under 16, over 14.....		890
Under 14, and 7 and over.....		2,461
Under 7, and 6 and over.....		378
Under 6, and 4 and over.....		718
Under 4		1,659

The population of 37,676 adults is divided as follows:

Male....20,677, or 45.2% of total population
Female..16,999, or 37.3% " " "

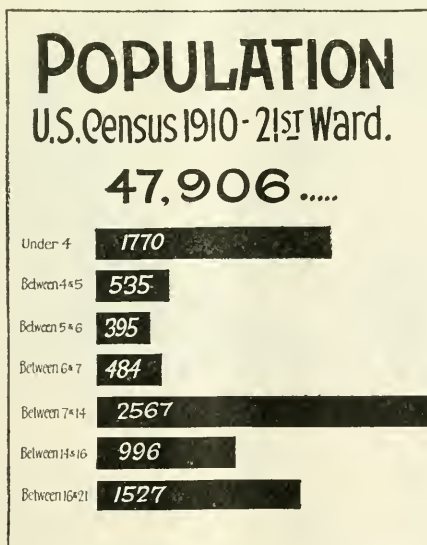
The section does not contain a large percentage of foreign-speaking people. Many of the German and Irish families and boarders, although immigrants or children of immigrants, are in every sense of the word Americans, thus making the problem of the foreigner in the field a very small one.

The following table shows the nationality make-up of the community:



School Census, 1908.

Nativity—		Nativity—	
United States..	26,831	French	301
German.. .. .	6,830	Scotch	299
Irish	3,435	Austria	287
Swede	2,518	Norwegian ..	262
English	1,063	Swiss	200
Canada	834	Hungarian ..	197
Negroes	618	Danish	172
Italian.....	563	Others	560
Russia.....	332		
Greek	330		
		Total Pop..	45,632



The school figures for the census of 1910 show the following facts:

Total population of Twenty-first Ward	47,906
Under 4	1,770
Between 4 and 5	535
Between 5 and 6	395
Between 6 and 7	484
Between 7 and 14	2,567
Between 14 and 16	996
Between 16 and 21	1,527

The territory is very slowly increasing in population. The tendency will be, however, toward a larger and larger adult population. The factories and shops will drive many people either to the northern part of the section or away to other parts of the city. The new apartments, however, will accommodate many more, thus tending to increase, rather than decrease, the entire population.

Education

There are two public schools in the section—the Ogden and the Sheldon. These two schools have decreased in enrollment during the past ten years, as the following figures show:

OGDEN SCHOOL.

Year.	Enroll-ment.	Year.	Enroll-ment.
1903	1,037	1908	835
1904	899	1909	810
1905	844	1910	770
1906	883	1911	695
1907	821	1912	756

SHELDON SCHOOL.

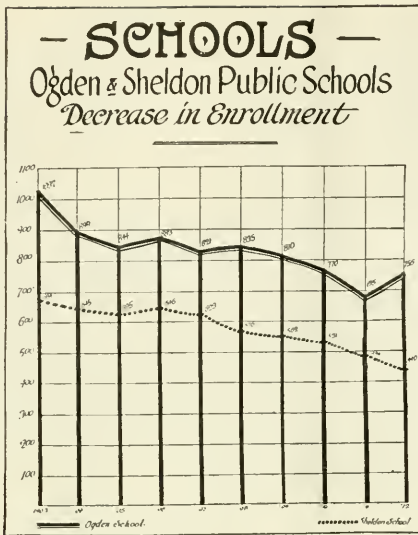
Year.	Enroll-ment.	Year.	Enroll-ment.
1903	684	1908	576
1904	645	1909	562
1905	625	1910	531
1906	646	1911	494
1907	623	1912	440

A recent very careful study has been made of the retardation in schools. It has been the aim in this study to trace these effects in children to specific causes, whether it be bad housing, poor food, poor teeth, ill-health in general, or what not. These two schools are among those where retardation is the highest.

There are a number of select private schools in the section, having a total enrollment of about 1,400.

What preparation does the public school give the pupil for actual life when he steps, at the age of 14, 15, or 16, out into the commercial life of the city, is a question that naturally arises.

The school census figures for 1910 for the Twenty-first Ward show that there



are but 1,850 minors in the ward who are under 21 and over 16 years. Of this number 678 are in school, 271 being in

private schools and 407 in public. This leaves a remainder of 1,172 minors not in school between the ages given.

One public school has recently been closed and the building is now rented to the Coyne Trade School. This is in a section where the residences have largely given way to factories and stores.

There is one group of parochial schools in the section having about 200 pupils.

The Newberry Library is a splendid institution and serves the community.

The Chicago Historical Society is within the bounds of the community.

Social Influences

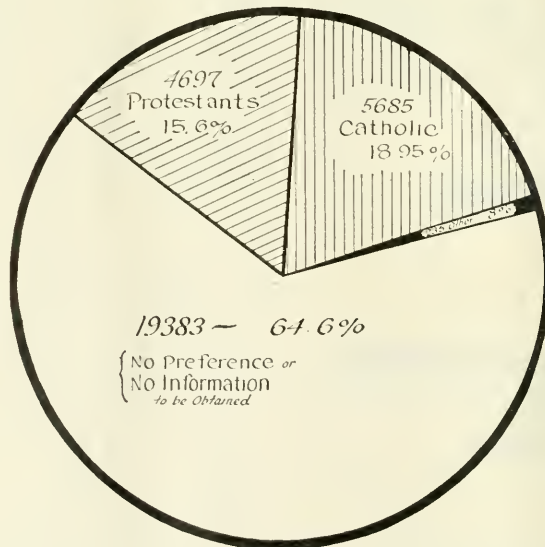
There seems to be here an almost utter lack of social spirit, as expressed in terms of the common good of the community. To be sure, in the churches and other social institutions are to be found scattered individuals who are concerning themselves with general or specific city

Religious Affiliations

4th Presbyterian Community

Total Population

— 30 000. —



betterment problems. The same is also true of small groups or individuals entirely outside the church or not officially connected with any organized agency.

The people of the community do not meet in a public hall or the schoolhouse or in the church or elsewhere to discuss the immediate needs of the community in which they find themselves.

Churches

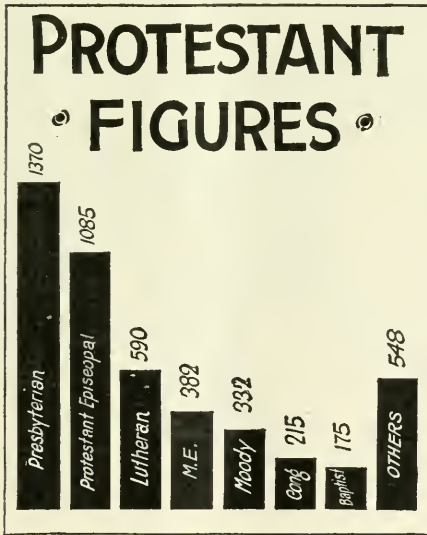
There are five churches in the field, as follows:

Fourth Presbyterian Church.
Holy Name Roman Catholic.
New England Congregational.
St. James' Episcopal.
St. Chrysostom's Episcopal.

While these churches are in the most friendly relationship, there exists nothing like a church federation.

Total Population, 30,000.

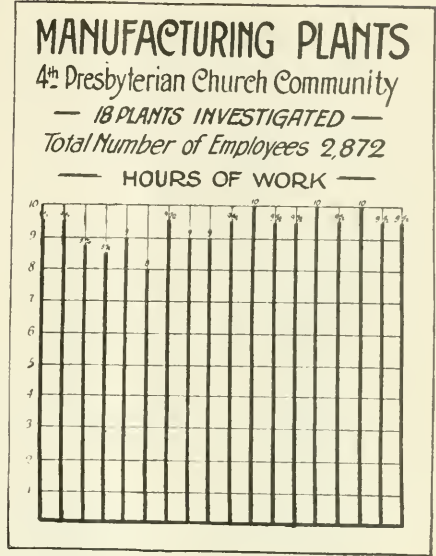
4,697 Protestant	15.65%
5,685 Catholic	18.95%
235 Other8 %
19,383 No preferences, or no information to be obtained.....	64.6 %



Protestant—

Presbyterian	1,370
Protestant Episcopal	1,085
Lutheran	590
M. E.	382
Moody	332
Congregational	215
Baptist	175
Others	548

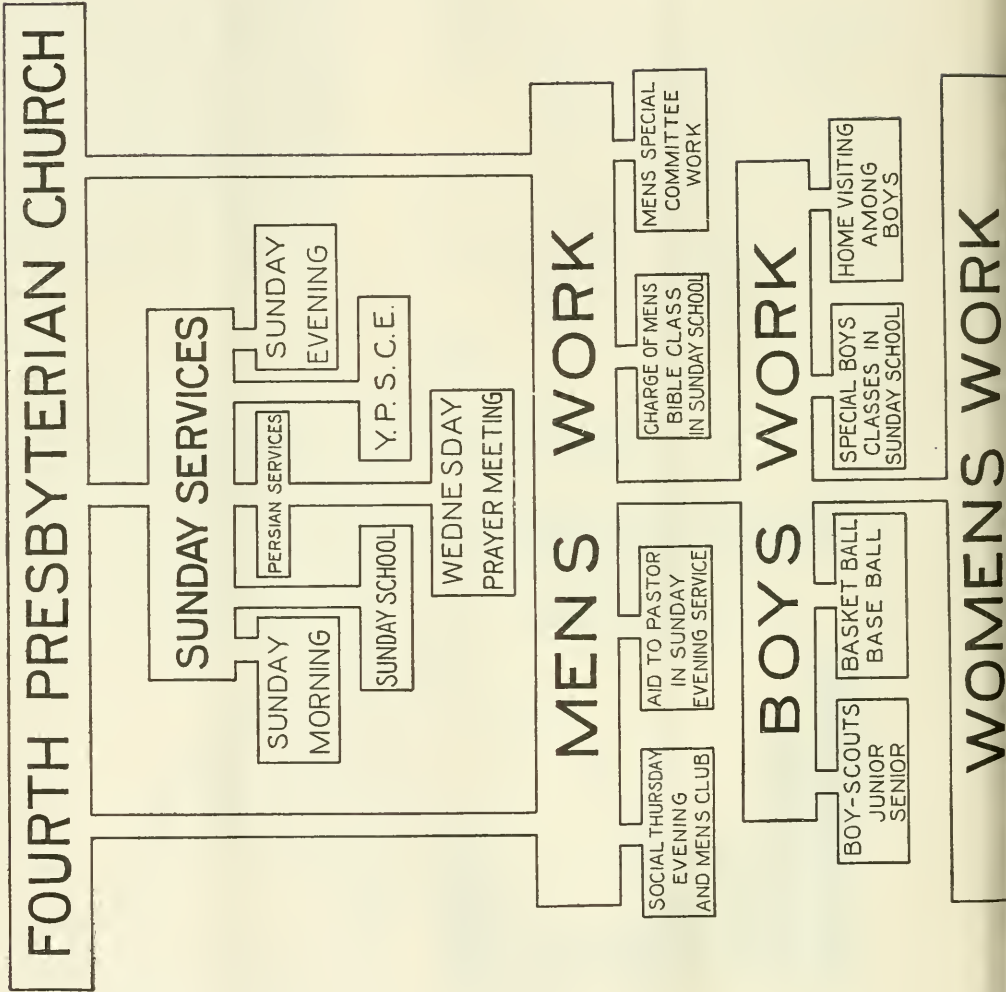
Industrial Life



The territory has been divided into two distinct sections—the business section and the residence section.

The business section of this region extends beyond the bounds of this field, including that area within the line running from the river east on Illinois street to St. Clair street, north to Ohio street, east to the lake, and bounded on the south by the river. This section includes three hotels, containing 445 rooms, and classified under "business" are the following:

Retail—Large	3
Retail—Small	260
Wholesale—Large	43
Wholesale—Small	93
Manufacturing—Large	25
Manufacturing—Small	113
Miscellaneous offices	80
Banks and trust companies.....	8
Theaters	1
Amusement places	2
Stables and garages (public).....	13
Fire and police stations.....	1
Storage warehouses	49
Yard storage	11
Transportation	19
City and county buildings.....	2
Government buildings (state and U. S.).	2
Religious institutions	2
Educational institutions	2
Clubs	2
Lodges and society rooms.....	4



BENEVOLENT SOCIETY
GUILD
SOCIETIES HOME FOREIGN
SELF SUPPORTING WOMEN
TRAINING CLASS
MIDDLE STUDY CLASSES
WITL SOCIETY

YOUNG WOMENS WORK

YOUNG WOMENS CLUB

WESTMINSTER GUILD

GIRLS

SEWING CLASSES

WORK

HOME VISITING

WORK AMONG FOREIGN SPEAKING PEOPLE

PERSIAN WORK

BOHEMIAN WORK

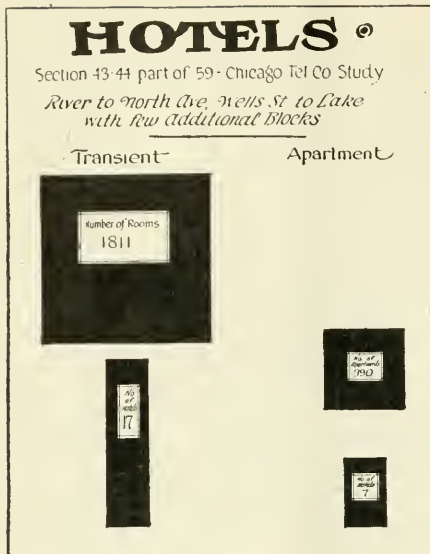
WORK AFFILIATED WITH FOURTH CHURCH

CHRIST CHURCH

VARIOUS SOCIAL SETTLEMENTS AND CHURCH EXTENSION ACTIVITIES

SPECIAL CITY MISSIONS

FURNISHES WORKERS FOR VARIOUS CHARITIES
SETTLEMENTS AND OTHER SOCIAL AND
RELIGIOUS ACTIVITIES



**River to North Ave., Wells St. to Lake,
with Few Additional Blocks:**

Offices	191
Banks	3
Drug stores	33
Groceries	80
Markets	38
Bakeries and delicatessens.....	62
Restaurants	93
Tailors or dressmakers.....	120
Barber shops	66
Undertakers	10
Contractors	17
Wholesale	24
Storage warehouses	6
Manufacturing—Large	18
Manufacturing—Small	83
Power houses	3
Laundries—Chinese	2
Laundries—Other	38
Retail (all others)	507
Saloons, or gardens.....	170
Stable or garages (public).....	35
Theaters	9
Fire and police stations.....	5
Yard storage	9

In this same district the housekeeping apartments rent under the following schedule per month:

\$100	257	\$25 to \$35..	1,629
\$50 to 80	257	18 to 25..	1,693
35 to 50	773	Less than 18..	2,069

The private residences in the same field are classified as follows:

\$100 upwards	374
75 to \$100	244
50 to 75	175
35 to 50	74
25 to 35	18
20 to 25	19
Less than 20	167

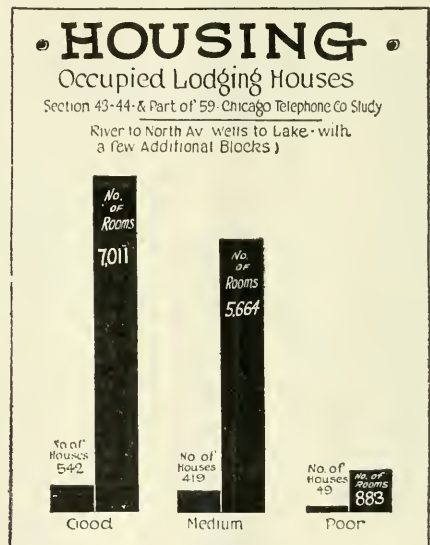
The lodging houses included in this section come under the following classification:

Good—No. of houses.....	542
Good—No. of rooms.....	7,011
Medium—No. of houses.....	419
Medium—No. of rooms.....	5,664
Poor—No. of houses.....	49
Poor—No. of rooms.....	883

There are many smaller manufacturing enterprises near the Fourth Church field, all of which have a very direct bearing upon the community life of their respective neighborhoods. The largest establishments, however, are located to the west of this field, but have a decided influence upon the lower section of the field.

None of these plants conduct welfare work, nor have they part or full time of a welfare secretary.

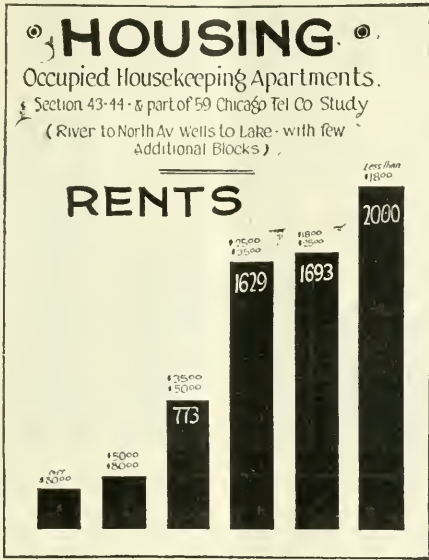
The average number of hours per day which the workers are employed is 9.36.



Directly to the west of the community are to be found some of the worst housing conditions in the city. A study of the housing in the community itself brings out the fact that, while the evil of bad housing may not be apparent, yet many blocks are to be found where conditions are very unsanitary and unhealthy.

Rows of houses, built for private residences, have been converted into cheap boarding houses or lodging houses. Landlords are striving to adapt the old

buildings to their new purposes, with the result that overcrowding, lack of proper light and sanitation is often found.



There are very few unoccupied houses in the territory. An attractive studio or apartment has people on its waiting list, so anxious are persons to locate for the time being in a section removed from the loop district and yet within walking distance of it.

Crimes and Arrests

So closely is this field connected with the section to the west and to the loop district that no special study of crimes and arrests for this locality has been made.

Cook County Jail is situated in the south-western corner of the territory. A careful study of the general condition of this jail and of the conduct of its business would be of great interest to those interested in any phase whatsoever of social service or the need of humanity in general.

It may not be necessary to go into detail regarding the boss-ridden police headquarters found in this section. The activities of these municipal officials, and the general conduct of their public duties should furnish ground for a separate study carried on by experts.

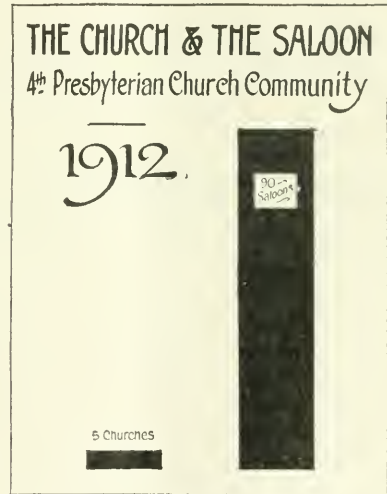
Some of the worst evils and crimes in the city are found in this section, segre-

gated for the most part in the north levee region of the district.

The Social Evil

Chicago is supposed to no longer have segregation of the social evil. There are still sections, however, where women ply their trade, and the north levee district is one of the sections. Street solicitation is common. The cheap hotels, unsupervised lodging and rooming houses, make it easy for women of the lower world to carry on their business in this area.

The dance halls serve as the market place for this business. Women living not only in this section, but on the South and the West Sides of the city, come to the dance halls on Clark street after men. These dance halls are known as among the worst in Chicago, and it is estimated that at many dances the majority of women and girls are professional women from the red-light districts, wherever they may at present be tucked away. The matter of dance halls will be discussed, however, under the heading of "Dance Halls."



There are ninety saloons in the Fourth Church community, but twice that number within a short radius of the center of the district.

Many of the saloons have been carefully studied. From the small, attractively appointed cafés in connection with the various large hotels in the region, the saloons run down to some of the lowest, most filthy spots in the city.

Here, again, it is difficult to classify the saloons into different social groups. There are those of the lowest type where the owners and managers merely exploit and rob. These are patronized by Americans, both black and white, and by a few foreigners. Free lunches are served in 90 per cent of the saloons of this type.

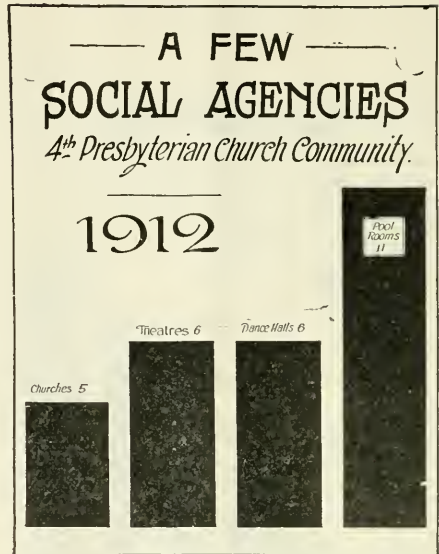
It is extremely difficult to answer the question as to why the patrons of saloons of this type frequent these places. Existing, as they do, on an extremely low standard of living, many men are there made to feel perfectly at home. A poorly dressed man, found with a friend in one of the attractive cafés in connection with one of the hotels, stated that he did not feel at home there, and that it was no place for him. He said that he wanted a saloon into which he could go and feel free and easy. The bartender of the same café stated that he never had a crowd in his place; that it was only popular with a certain class of the well-to-do and the well-dressed.

The saloons keep open till 1 a. m., and up to that hour may be found typical crowds in the saloons and stretching up and down the main streets of the neighborhood. A large map has been prepared showing the location of saloons in relation to the many other social agencies in the field. Every inducement is put into the saloons of this district to make them cater to the particular group which they serve.

Not only do the saloons of Chicago pay \$1,000 a year license, but in changing hands a bonus ranging as high as \$2,500 is often paid. It is clear to see at a glance that in order to meet this enormous tax the owners put forth every inducement to make the patron spend as much of his money over the bar as possible.

The law regulating the sale of liquor to minors in Chicago is perfectly clear. One has but to visit one of the large dance halls on Clark street on a popular night to see how frequently and how openly this law is violated. The saloons are open on Sundays. In the entire community there are no agencies which act as the saloon substitute.

Recreation and Amusement



The 5-cent and 10-cent theater in Chicago has had an alarming growth. In 1910 there were 416 in the city. To-day there are over 700, and permits are being issued for 17 new ones. In this limited area there are six 5-cent and 10-cent theaters. They are open Sundays. A careful study of these houses shows poor ventilation and unsanitary conditions. They serve as the meeting places for young people who can "spoon" in the darkness which the poorly lighted halls afford. A great number of children attend the picture shows in this community, and charity workers state that families living far below the margin of necessary things yet find money to spend on the 5-cent show.

The films vary from exceedingly good ones to those which ought to be more carefully censured by the City Board of Censorship.

Pool Rooms

In 1910 there were 937 pool rooms in the city of Chicago. At the end of the year 1912 there were 1,535. This is an increase of 63.8 per cent in two years.

There are eleven pool rooms in this small area, each drawing largely from this neighborhood. While the pool rooms in themselves are not harmful, the surrounding influences and the methods of conducting the pool rooms tend toward the lowering of standards of the young men in the community. Here, again, it is

merely a question of recreation. Dingy, unattractive rooms, often cold and unsanitary, do not tempt young men to stay at home evenings. Cheer and good-fellowship may be found in the pool room, the dance hall and the saloon.

Standard of Living

To make an exhaustive study of the standard of living of various economic groups in this field would have been an exceedingly difficult as well as a very delicate undertaking. Unlike some neighborhoods, data upon various expenditures, such as food, rent, light, heat, clothing, etc., is not here easily obtainable.

A study of a map showing the location of cases under the supervision of the United Charities office for this section brings out the fact that a comparatively small number of cases are to be found in this section.

With self-supporting groups of men or women great care on the part of the investigator must be exercised, lest the privacy of the home, or of one's personal affairs be invaded. Extracts from the United States report on "Conditions of Woman and Child Wage Earner in the United States," covering Chicago figures, are of great interest, as these figures are directly applicable to this field.

Department and Other Retail Stores

Report on conditions of women and child wage earners in the United States.

Living at home	}	24,585
Not living at home		
Per cent at home		79.7
Per cent not at home		20.3
Average age	{	22.8
At home		
Average age	{	29.2
Not at home		
Average weekly earnings	{	\$8.05
At home		
Average weekly earnings	{	8.17
Not at home		
Average weekly amount paid at home to family		6.49
Average weekly amount paid for food, shelter, heat, light and laundry, not at home		4.77

Factories, Mills and Miscellaneous Establishments.

Living at home	}	42,362
Not living at home		
Per cent at home		83.6
Per cent not at home		16.4
Average age	{	21.9
At home		
Average age	{	23.6
Not at home		
Average weekly earnings	{	\$7.26
At home		
Average weekly earnings	{	7.23
Not at home		

Average weekly amount paid for food, snetter, heat, light and laundry—	
Not at home	\$3.40
Average weekly earnings and cost of living (food, shelter, heat, light and laundry) for women, other than waitresses:	
Women keeping house—	
Average weekly earnings	\$7.75
Average weekly cost of living	2.92
Women living in private families—	
Average weekly earnings	\$6.36
Average weekly cost of living	3.09
Women living in boarding and lodging houses—	
Average weekly earnings	\$7.25
Average weekly cost of living	3.84
Women in organized boarding houses—	
Average weekly earnings	\$7.63
Average weekly cost of living	3.54

Dance Halls

At a very recent meeting in the city, held to discuss the dance-hall question, the fact was brought out that the dance halls of Chicago were getting much worse rather than better. Much study and special investigation has been put on this one phase of evil in the city. With all this skilled trained thought and action, the halls are growing worse instead of better.

There are only five dance halls in this immediate field, but these five halls cover some of the worst in Chicago. A most careful investigation has been made of each hall.

Recommendations for Social Service.

As has been stated, an endeavor has been made to ascertain and to secure statements from the variously highly organized agencies in the community, telling how the Fourth Presbyterian Church may help and co-operate with the work of each agency.

As a basis for future social work it would be of great help to have each member of the Fourth Church answer a simple question asking in what activities he or she is engaged, either in connection with the Fourth Church or entirely outside of the church. This would cover questions on how many contribute toward the support of charitable agencies. It would cover information concerning members serving on committees, boards, clubs, etc.

It has also been recommended that courses in social service be conducted, both for the men and boys, and the women and girls.

"Scouts" could be chosen to represent the church at the Women's City Club, the Men's City Club, the Committee on Social Service Legislation, the City Health Committee, the Juvenile Protective Association, the United Charities, the Parting of the Ways Movement, the Big Brother and the Big Sister Movements. These scouts should specialize each upon a given subject, attend all meetings of the different societies which he represents over a long period. He should then report, both to the committee in the Fourth Church and to that group of men or women who would take an active interest in that special line of work, and who would become responsible for some definite service expressed in terms of that particular society.

Recommendations for Co-operation with Juvenile Protective Association

1. The adult societies of the Fourth Church should have official representatives delegated to attend the meetings of Local League No. 12.

This league is organized to consider the problem of child welfare in the district surrounding the Fourth Presbyterian Church. The membership of the league is composed of people representing different social activities, religious bodies, educational societies and people interested in child welfare. The league plans certain repressive efforts and also initiates constructive activities for the benefit of the children of that locality.

2. The officers of the Juvenile Protective Association handle cases of families in which the parents contribute toward the delinquency or the dependency of their children. After the officers have been able to bring such families through a crisis, friendly visitors are needed to constantly keep in touch with these people to see that they do not fall back into their former condition. The Fourth Church would do a splendid social service if the Juvenile Protective Association could refer the Protestant families of that neighborhood to individuals of the church.

3. Lincoln Park is a splendid playground and recreation center for the children of the city, but because the supervision has not been strict enough the park has been, at certain times, a dangerous place for unattended girls.

The men of the Fourth Church would do well to select certain ones to walk about in the park in the evenings during the summer months so that these facts may be brought to the attention of the Lincoln Park Board and have conditions changed.

4. All of the members of the church should constantly be on the lookout for such things as the sale of indecent post cards, the sale of liquor and tobacco to minors, disorderly pool rooms in which minors are allowed to congregate, children who are employed in the street trades, and all other conditions which tend toward juvenile delinquency, and should report to the central office of the Juvenile Protective Association.

Co-operation with the United Charities. Friendly Visiting

1. Mature men and women who are willing to visit families under the direction of the committee and carry out committee plans for the families.

2. Men who are willing to make night visits—men who will make a canvass of all working boys in our families and ascertain:

- (a) The nature of their work;
- (b) Wholesomeness, morally and physically;
- (c) Future of their work;
- (d) Possibilities of advancement;
- (e) Any condition in the child's life which could be improved.

3. Men who will visit men and boys in hospitals, homes, institutions and reformatories and ascertain their prospects, etc.

4. Professional men who can give legal or medical or dentist's service.

5. Women who can continue visiting-housekeeper's work with families.

6. Women who can visit women in institutions, hospitals, homes and reformatories, and ascertain how they are progressing.

Clerical Work

1. Men or women to aid in tabulating names of working boys and girls in our families for use of visitors.

2. To complete map of the district showing location of families.

3. To compile map of district showing location of other agencies.

4. Who can give volunteer stenographic work.

5. To complete card catalogue of agencies and individuals co-operating with the society.

Work for Families Other Than Friendly Visiting

1. Men or women to look up records of schools, hospitals and dispensaries, courts and police, tenement-house department, Board of Health, marriage, birth, property, etc.; make reference visits to teachers, school nurse, truant officers, employers and former landlords, references in the country, co-operating agencies.

2. To secure co-operation of church or other agency in plan for family.

3. To take women and children to dispensary, see that children in tuberculous families have regular examination, accompany patients to hospitals, secure specialist for particular cases (orthopedic, or bedridden, for example) and make arrangements for medical care.

Committee Work

1. Men and women to serve on the Thursday Morning Committee.

2. To help organize a Men's Evening Committee.

3. To insert notices of committee work and case work in church paper.

4. To secure contributions for specific families.

Bohemian Settlement House

The members who are brought into the Bohemian Church, both through the regular church work and the Bohemian Settlement, are counted as members of the Fourth Presbyterian Church.

The head worker is now, and has been for some time, greatly in need of workers to carry on the work of the Bohemian Settlement House. Recently she sent to five of the leading Presbyterian churches asking for volunteer help in this most needy field. Not one responded with a single worker. As a result of a strong appeal to a group of young men in one of the prominent churches, the only man who responded was a stranger from out of the city. He was not a Presbyterian, but was willing to give one night a week to social service.

Workers are needed for boys' work, to conduct clubs and gymnasiums and debating societies.

Sunday school workers are needed, both men and women.

Teachers are needed in the sewing classes for both women and girls.

Recreation

Experts on recreation in the city state that in this section there is very much needed a recreation center for adults. From the very nature of the community this should not have too much style nor pretense. If the church building will not prove equal to this great need, it should then be conducted apart from the church in the center of the field where it is most needed.

Dance Halls

Under the proper authority, groups of men might make themselves responsible for seeing that law or order or decency is maintained in the dance halls in this community.

County Jail

An officer of the Juvenile Protective Association is about to begin work at the Cook County Jail, located in this section. A group of men are needed not only to inspect the jail, but to follow up cases found there.

These recommendations are subject to expansion or change from time to time, as the plan of co-operation and correlation of church and social work expands. (Applause.)

A MEMBER—"Have you any statistics as to the attendance of the saloons, pool rooms and dance halls?"

MR. ST. JOHN—"Yes, we have statistics on the dance halls. For instance, on New Year's night, when we were making an investigation, there was an attendance of 1,800 in a certain dance hall where the law provides 1,100 as the maximum number. Then we have figures as to the efficiency of the supervision over the dance halls; and on the efficiency of several other supervised jobs in the community that make very interesting reading. But we have not published them as yet. We have the attendance at the dances, and in the pool rooms, and in the saloons, and in the moving-picture shows, as well, on several different nights; and then we have the figures for the past ten years of such organizations as the Juvenile Pro-

tective Association on these very dance halls."

A MEMBER—"What is the character of the moving-picture shows in this field?"

MR. ST. JOHN—"The films that are shown are as good as are shown anywhere else in the city; but the type of building in a great many cases is very bad; there is very poor ventilation, and they are unsanitary."

A MEMBER—"Do you think they have an evil influence?"

MR. ST. JOHN—"No, we won't say that they have an influence for evil or an uplifting influence; we did not go into any one of these agencies with the preconceived idea that it was bad or good. We simply investigated as outsiders to see what the influence was—that is, of these moving-picture shows. It might be a social agency, or it might not be."

A MEMBER—"What, in your judgment, is the influence of the moving pictures as you saw them and found them in this field?"

MR. ST. JOHN—"They ought to be more carefully supervised as to the attendance of minors. There ought to be a more careful supervision of the lighting and of ventilation. When those three things are taken care of, the tone of the moving-picture show will come up immediately."

A MEMBER—"How about the character of the pictures themselves?"

MR. ST. JOHN—"The character of the pictures themselves on the evenings that we went there was all right."

A MEMBER—"What is your conclusion as to the reasons for the large proportion of non-church affiliation?"

MR. ST. JOHN—"The experts who have worked in these fields for years, and our own personal observation has been that there are people living in this section below Chicago avenue, and all along Clark street, and some of the side streets, thousands of people who have known better circumstances; they have known better standards of living, and it is not a problem of Dr. Stone or any of us going into the field to try to raise the standard of living, for these people have known better circumstances, and there are a great many of them hiding away from former friends, and living

under conditions that they don't want known."

CHAIRMAN STONE—"May I add a word as to that question? We have had a committee of about 25 men who for over three years have been making from 50 to 100 calls a week on young men. They have, at times, brought the mailing list of the men's club of the church up to 1,100 men."

"Recently one of those fellows called on a young man whose father was one of the prominent merchants in a small town of an eastern state where he lived. This man was rated at from \$150,000 to \$200,000. He said he found this man's son on the North Side working for eight or nine dollars a week, with a room rent of two or three dollars. It simply means that there are an immense number that need the personal touch; and this committee is getting in personal touch with these young men, and we are hoping for great things from it. It means the personal touch and something more. I wish I could show you a map which is not here. It is a map of the city upon which we have listed every church in the various parts of the city, different creeds under different stars. Suppose we get a letter from a farmer in Iowa, or from a merchant down in Bangor, Maine, saying that his boy is in Chicago and that he lives in a certain locality. We immediately send that letter to the church, if possible his own denomination, which is near that fellow. If he is looked up we ask the pastor to check back to us, and if he does not send it back we send it to another church. Thus we try to tie him up to some church, not necessarily our own denomination, but any denomination. We don't care half so much to make Presbyterian Christians as we do to make Christian Presbyterians. (Laughter and applause.) We are just as anxious, and we are just as willing to aid the Methodists and the Episcopalians, in fact the Roman church, or any other, so long as they are on the job and doing the work to save men. (Applause)."

A MEMBER—"Mr. Stone, let me ask you a question: What do you mean by personal touch with that man getting eight dollars a week?"

CHAIRMAN STONE—"I will tell you exactly. From my own personal

experience I know that that fellow is probably in a room with two or three other men. When you knock at the door down stairs you may get in or may not; he may have left word not to let anyone see him, for maybe he is back in his laundry bill. (It is sometimes easier to get into a place from a church standpoint than from that of a bill collector.) Now, maybe there are three or four fellows in that room, and they may be in their stocking feet and may be smoking their pipes. I, as a minister, cannot get near those fellows. They wouldn't let me in. I remember when I was a student in Amhurst College, the college pastor came around one day, (I was thinner than I am now) and I hid in a narrow closet for ten minutes in order not to be discovered; but it was kept up too long and the boys threw open the door and there I was. So here, if those fellows knew I was coming I would not get in. But the young man making the call is at home with him, he shows that fellow that he is a good fellow; he does not criticise him if he is smoking his pipe. He does not openly condemn him if he has a glass of beer on his table; but by getting in touch with him he shows him a better way.

"Now, we have a club where these men can come, and they find they are not gotten there in order to get them to go to church, but we get them there in order to help them live as clean men in that community, and live by the right standards, then they come to church as a result. I could name a dozen fellows here who were only making seven or eight dollars a week, and who are making twenty-five dollars a week today, because they have become more efficient."

MR. McMAHON—"But do they not put some other fellow in the seven or eight dollar a week class?"

CHAIRMAN STONE—"They constantly help one another."

MR. McMAHON—"You misunderstand the question, Mr. Stone. It was, If a man jumps from the seven or eight dollar a week class to the twenty-five dollar a week class by reason of efficiency, does he not put somebody else back into the seven dollar class?"

CHAIRMAN STONE—"No, no; there is a constant gradation. There are fellows coming to our city every day,

and the fellow who was earning seven dollars a week in this city, and who now is earning twenty-five dollars a week, got there by no pull, for there is no actual pull in Chicago for the man who earns seven dollars a week. If he gets more than the other man it is because he earns it. Any man, if he has got the brains, the ability and thrift, will work his way up. Fifty per cent of the men in our community change every year; and you will find that true practically all over the city."

MR. McMAHON—"I think you have not answered the question when you talk about a man having merit; but how about the men who have no merit?"

CHAIRMAN STONE—"We try to help him."

MR. McMAHON—"In what way?"

CHAIRMAN STONE—"In this way: We provide for him an every-week entertainment and a manly sociability, which does not cost him a dollar."

MR. McMAHON—"Does he like that; does he like to be put in that humiliating position?"

CHAIRMAN STONE—"He is not in a humiliating position; we give him work to do. We have a committee of 25 young fellows, and half of the young men on that committee are fellows earning comparatively small amounts, who do something for us. They call on other fellows, they make sometimes five or ten calls each week; they are repaying us by getting us in touch with other men. They invite them to church, not particularly to our church, however, we do not ask them to become members of our denomination or of our church, that is a matter entirely optional with them. But they try to get them in touch with good things, and show them there is a brotherhood in the community."

MR. HOOKER—"I think what Mr. McMahon has in mind and what he wants to ask you is the plump question: 'Is the church actually helping the fellow who is down and out in his economic situation?'"

CHAIRMAN STONE—"I thank you for the explanation. I think I can answer. For one thing, we are trying to lift the standard of the boarding house and the rooming house in our community. There are a lot of people keeping boarding houses and rooming houses

simply from the commercial standpoint, and we do not blame them, for they must support themselves. There may be a house where there are 18 fellows rooming. In that house there is no place to entertain their friends or to do anything except go to their room. We are trying to better the conditions of the young man by affording him some right and helpful diversion. We are also trying to help the person running the rooming and boarding house. We are trying to wipe out, by means of publicity, places that are lowering the standard. We have only begun now on this problem, and we do not think that we have arrived at definite conclusions as yet, but we are trying in an earnest, honest way to help. And I want to say, if there is any man here that can help us in any particular, we would like his suggestions.

"And I go further and say that the churches are trying to do this same thing irrespective of creed or denomination. We do not care half so much about the creed as the love of God in the heart helping men to do for themselves and others."

A MEMBER—"Isn't it true that within the last few years, where the churches have been much more efficient in trying to bring these things to the people, that the proportion of people going to the churches has not increased in proportion to the whole population? how about the particular community in which you are working?"

CHAIRMAN STONE—"Well, the membership has doubled in three years and a half with us."

A MEMBER—"The ratio or the number?"

CHAIRMAN STONE—"The number in the church; the number in the locality has not doubled."

A MEMBER—"For example, say that five years ago twenty men out of a hundred applied to a church, that during those five years the church was very efficient in getting new members; now, is it true that at the end of those five years' work say forty men out of a hundred have applied to church. Has the ratio increased, or has the church failed to attract to it a larger increase in proportion to the increase of the population? In other words, is it true that the church is losing its hold?"

CHAIRMAN STONE—"I do not think I can answer that except as to my own."

A MEMBER—"What is the case with you?"

CHAIRMAN STONE—"We have had to build much larger quarters, and we have gotten more men out in proportion than women. We do not seem able to get the women out as we do the men. We have had to build a new plant because we did not have room in our old plant for our young men and women. We have had in that old plant 800 various meetings in the six months from the middle of November to the middle of May. We had not the room to handle the people, hence we have had to build."

A MEMBER—"You have doubled, that is your answer?"

CHAIRMAN STONE—"Now, I do not mean to be personal, but this is simply in answer to your question. I think that any church that is on its job is increasing the proportion all the time. But we have had help in this in a loyal membership."

A MEMBER—"One question to Mr. St. John about the number of churches in New York City that have given up?"

MR. ST. JOHN—"Eighty churches in the past twenty-five years have given up below Fourteenth street."

A MEMBER—"Have they increased in that proportion north of Fourteenth street?"

MR. ST. JOHN—"Of course the conditions below Fourteenth street have changed very much. Vast hordes of foreigners have moved in there, and conditions have changed. But we hold that some of the churches should have stayed to meet the problem of the down town church."

A MEMBER—"I would like to find out one thing. One of you gentlemen made the statement that many of the people who are living in that district have seen better days. Can we conclude from that that the general trend of the district is downward, is it the same people, or have new people come in there who are strangers to that community?"

MR. ST. JOHN—"I should think the latter; that the people have moved away from certain sections of the field here, and that this latter class have moved in near the loop, and near the cheap theaters

and cheap restaurants where they can live for a very small amount per week."

CHAIRMAN STONE—"There are great hosts of young men and young women who earn comparatively small amounts who have to be within walking distance of the loop to save car fare. If you will notice the Rush street bridge or the State street bridge at the time the stores and general employment places are closing, you will see an immense number of these people walking to that section. We find that 50 per cent of the mailing list of our club changes every year. Young men go to other parts of the city, I mean to parts where they spend more money for their room rent. This especially applies south of Chicago avenue."

A MEMBER—"When you get these young men whom you speak of, what do you do for them?"

CHAIRMAN STONE—"You mean these young men we bring in?"

A MEMBER—"Yes, the young men you bring in; whom you go out to get."

CHAIRMAN STONE—"We try to help those young men to all kinds of activities. We put them to work in the club, and into varied activities such as the boy scouts; and where they are willing to take hold and help in the interest of civic betterment.

"We have sent some young men to this City Club, and they have been fortunate enough to become members here. We have sent them to many other organizations. We follow them when they leave us, so far as possible. To give a personal illustration, that one committee has been the means of reaching at least 250 fellows within the last three or four years and interesting them in Christian activities; and at least 100 of these men have been trained to conduct other activities. We follow them up and try to tie them down to definite work."

A MEMBER—"Now, what are your recommendations?"

CHAIRMAN STONE—"Well, we really did not come here to make recommendations, but from our standpoint we think that if the churches and civic and philanthropic organizations in their distinctive fields will make an effort to know their actual conditions and meet those conditions helpfully, it will have a mighty influence for the betterment of our city.

I think there are a great many preachers, teachers, and speakers, who are very much more popular away from home than at home, and can make a better speech 25 miles away than they can where they are living. I think the work that we ought to do is to work where we live.

"As I say, we did not come here to make recommendations; and the only one that I would make is that in whatever field we may be, let us get down to business in that field and try to meet our own needs with our own forces, and do our own work with our own forces, instead of importing other agencies to do the work."

A MEMBER—"Doctor, do you put your emphasis on changing the environments, or saving the soul?"

CHAIRMAN STONE—"Saving the soul; but we believe the soul is a very live thing in this world as in the next." (Applause.)

A MEMBER—"You think it includes the whole man?"

CHAIRMAN STONE—"I believe if a man's heart is changed, the man is changed. You cannot change a swine into an ox by taking him out of a hog pen; so you cannot change a man merely by changing his environment; his heart must be changed. We will try to make that man believe as we believe, but we are trying first of all to make him feel his relationship to God. If a man asks us our belief, we tell him what it is; if he comes to hear us preach, he will hear it without asking. But what we want is for that man to get into the right relationship with his own God, and with his own conscience, and not to live below his own ideal."

A MEMBER—"Mr. Stone, I wonder if you will be willing to say a word about the way in which this survey idea arose, and how Mr. St. John came to us from New York?"

CHAIRMAN STONE—"I have not wanted to be personal, but we felt that our supporters on the North Side, constituting some four hundred men and women, who subscribed a fund of some \$665,000 to put up our new plant within three blocks of our old neighborhood, were entitled to an exact knowledge of the field in which we are working. For we want to help every other active constructive organi-

zation in that community just as much as to help ourselves. We are just as anxious to make good Episcopalians, and good Methodists, as we are to make good Presbyterians; but we want them to be on the job and alive.

"And I wish to say that all this money was subscribed before we built, every stone that is going into those buildings will be paid for. We felt that if the citizens on the north side were going to put that money into that work we ought, in every way possible, to prepare for the work which we had set ourselves to do. We felt that we should *know our field*, so we looked around for the best specialist we could find. With that in view Mr. St. John came here and we paid the bill, six or eight men paid the bill gratuitously for this work, in order that we might know our field. He, together with several other experts, have made this survey. Doctor Edgar P. Hill and his students in McCormick Theological Seminary assisted."

A MEMBER—"Has this work been done in New York and in the East?"

MR. ST. JOHN—"Yes. Our Presbyterian Board of Home Missions has been doing survey work for a number of years. We go into all sorts of communities. Last winter, as an example, I spent six months in the soft coal and coke region of Pennsylvania, an old rural community that was once occupied by aristocratic Pennsylvania farmers, but is now occupied by the undesirable Slavic people (undesirable from the standpoint of some of the old Pennsylvania people in that community). It was our job to go into that field and study the efficiency of some sixty Presbyterian churches, to see how they were meeting the situation in the new terms of the new people that had come into that field within the past fifteen years. There are 350,000 people in that presbytery, with a foreign population numbering about 215,000; a problem that would stump almost any organization, I am sure.

"Then we go into a city to make a study of it, that is, of a small city of 75,000, 80,000 or 100,000 people, as the case might be, to make there a study from the standpoint of the entire city. Or we go into a community, as was true in this case. This has been going on for several years, group studies, and studies

of larger fields. Or, again, we go into a community with the idea of studying the field from the church and social stand-points, with the idea of putting up a definite program of work in view of the conditions found in that field."

A MEMBER—"Are there any other sections in Chicago in which a similar survey is being made?"

MR. ST. JOHN—"No; at the present time I am making a very small study of a field on the south side, but not as exhaustive as this.

"Last year I founded a class in Applied Sociology in the McCormick Theological Seminary. We chose a field on the west side from 12th street to Fullerton avenue on the north, and from Ashland boulevard to Halsted on the east. That was not an exhaustive study, but simply a study of the foreign situation in that field, yet it did have some very concrete results."

REV. GEO. B. SAFFORD—"Mr. Chairman, I think perhaps the members of this club would be interested to know that on next Tuesday a meeting of the representatives of various religious and philanthropic organizations is to be held at the Grand Pacific Hotel to consider the possibility of having such a survey as this made of the entire city. The representative of the City Club is to be there, as is a representative of the City Council, and there will be representatives of the various denominations of the city. The representative of the Catholic church will be Father O'Callaghan, and the representative of the Jews of this city is Mr. M. F. Grenebaum. They have all expressed their willingness to go into a proposition of this kind. The expense will be heavy, but it appears now that there may be a way in which this work can be done.

"I felt that since the discussion has reached the point it has, you would all be interested in knowing about this."

CHAIRMAN STONE—"Dr. Safford, I want to say, if you will permit me, I hope if that thing is done it will be done for the sake of results and not for the sake of the survey. It is possible for a survey to be carried out in a city like this simply for the result of tabulating the figures. I hope if this is done it will be tied up so that the work will be really valuable, and not merely a tabulation."

A MEMBER—"Will you make some sort of a statement as to the specific recommendations which will come out of this survey—as to the actual work which should be done by the church in that community?"

CHAIRMAN STONE—"I do not think we are ready to do that yet, because we feel that we are students rather than philosophers. We feel we are only trying to know our field. We don't want to recommend anything until we have something definite. We are going to get to work.

"Now, may I say a word as a man instead of as a minister. I was on the train a little while ago, and I told a darkey a story or two. He was blue, and I felt it my duty of course to cheer up a darkey that was blue just as I would anyone else. I assure you the stories were all right. I had told him one or two and started on the next, when he said: 'Hush, boss, there is a minister in the next berth.' (Laughter.) And I want to say this, as a member of this club as well as a minister; as a citizen of

Chicago as well as pastor of the Fourth Presbyterian Church—may all of us, as earnest men, no matter what our profession or work, get busy in making our city better from the standpoint of knowing conditions here, and then meeting those conditions. And I want to say that if any of you wish to make any suggestions to us, or are willing to be unselfish enough to do anything which will benefit our condition or location, we want you to do it.

"Meanwhile we want you to take this up as far as you can in the locations where you live, and see if this work is possible there. Let us all work together. God is one, and God gave us a city to unify for righteousness and truth, so let us work together and let every selfish interest be sent to the four winds. If this city-wide survey is made, or any other survey, let us get down to the place where we can help one another, and encourage one another, instead of criticising, no matter what our creed may be. That is my position." (Prolonged applause.)



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The City Club Bulletin

Published by the CITY CLUB OF CHICAGO, 315 Plymouth Court

DWIGHT L. AKERS, Editor*

VOLUME VI

SATURDAY, MARCH 29, 1913

NUMBER 6



ESTES PARK

A View of the Proposed Rocky Mountain National Park in Northern Colorado

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*Carlos Colton Daughaday, Associate Editor

THE PROPOSED ROCKY MOUNTAIN NATIONAL PARK

In 1872 the Earl of Dunraven, an English nobleman, visited Estes Park on the east slope of the Continental Divide in northern Colorado in search of big game, and finding there an abundance of wild life determined to make this spot his private game preserve. Through his agents, he laid claim to some 15,000 acres of park land, but opposition to his scheme developed, his claims were contested, and most of them disallowed. Now, forty years after this attempt at private appropriation, a movement has been set on foot to protect and develop Estes Park as a people's playground by making it, together with a large additional area embracing a stretch of the Continental Divide, a national park. A bill with this end in view is now pending before Congress. The proposal has the approval of Mr. R. B. Marshall, chief geographer of the United States, who last September made an extended visit to the region, investigated its possibilities as a park area and reported to the Secretary of the Interior strongly in favor of establishing a park.

On March 5 the City Club listened to an address on this proposed "Rocky Mountain National Park," as Chief Geographer Marshall suggested that it be called, by Enos A. Mills. Mr. Mills has spent most of his life among the Colorado mountains and knows them intimately, having climbed them and lived among them summer and winter. For almost thirty years he has made his home in Estes Park, at the foot of Long's Peak. He has written, besides numerous magazine articles, *Wild Life on the Rockies*, *The Spell of the Rockies*, and *In Beaver World*, the last book, just published, being the result of his many years' study of beaver life in the vicinity of his Estes Park home.

Mr. Stephen T. Mather presided at the meeting. In introducing Mr. Mills he spoke as follows of the development of national parks in the United States:

Our National Parks

STEPHEN T. MATHER—"Before introducing Mr. Mills, I want to say just

a word on the general subject of our national parks. We all know that we have national parks, but most of us are rather unfamiliar with them. We have altogether twelve national parks, but only seven of them are on a large scale, say with an average of 100,000 acres in extent. The Yellowstone with its 2,000,000 acres leads, and there are the Yosemite and the Sequoia in California, the Mount Rainer in Washington, Crater Lake in Oregon, and the Glacier National Park in Montana. Possibly the Mesa Verde in Colorado should be included, as it has been set aside as a national park and is something like 200,000 acres in extent.

"I remember when I went out for a three or four weeks' camping trip in the Sequoia National Park last summer that I had much difficulty in securing data about the park. In fact, in one of the leading railroad offices the clerk who was approached could not even tell the location of the Sequoia National Park, and yet it is a park that has probably the most wonderful forest growth of any country in the world. The finest living sequoias are located in that park.

"One point the lovers of the national parks have been pressing a little is the importance of a bureau on national parks. Secretary of the Interior, Walter L. Fisher, whose term is just over, has been a strong advocate of this bureau. We are very proud here in the City Club of the work he has done on behalf of the national parks during his term of office. He brought together at Yellowstone two years ago and last year in the Yosemite the leading officials of the parks, the superintendents and the forest rangers, and those conferences have helped to stimulate the interest of the men working for the parks and to improve the methods of administration.

Saving the Hetch-Hetchy

"While speaking on the matter of Secretary Fisher's work, I might mention that some of us who took the trouble to go down to Washington a few months ago when the question of the use of the

Hetch-Hetchy Valley by San Francisco as a supply reservoir was brought up, were very glad to see that just before the expiration of his term of office Secretary Fisher has refused to grant the permit to San Francisco so far as the Department of the Interior is concerned and refers the city to Congress itself for further action. Those of us who were opposed to the Hetch-Hetchy scheme did not object so much on account of the fact that it would have obliterated this one little valley, which is in itself a perfect gem of nature, but we realized that the very necessity of protecting the water supply would in time, if not at first, perhaps, make it necessary to exclude people entirely from the watershed behind the valley or from half of the entire area of the Yosemite National Park. In other words, something like 300,000 or 400,000 acres might ultimately have become useless to the nation.

"Today we are going to hear from Mr. Enos A. Mills of Colorado, who has taken a great deal of interest in the whole subject of our national parks for many years. He is going to speak to us on the subject of a new park, the proposed Rocky Mountain Park, to comprise, I understand, about 448,000 acres or 700 square miles, including Estes Park, a section of Colorado with which many of you no doubt are familiar.

"At the present time our national parks are rather at a distance from Chicago. Those wonderful parks in California and Washington are rather far away for the average traveler. Mr. Mills has been working on this plan of a park out in Colorado which would be a relatively short distance from our own city.

"There has been pressure for a number of new parks in the last few years. The Mountaineers, a mountain club of Seattle, are pressing for a national park at Mount Olympus, and in northern California it is proposed to carve out a national park to include the famous lava beds. The Department of the Interior has been considering a plan for a very large extension of the Sequoia National Park which would take in the Kern River and the Mount Whitney section.

"We will now have an opportunity to hear from Mr. Mills. He has lived for twenty-nine years on the slopes of Long's Peak, 9,000 feet above the level

of the sea, in the region included in the proposed Rocky Mountain Park. I know of no one more able to talk to us directly from the heart of the mountains than Mr. Mills." (Applause.)

Enos A. Mills

"Mr. Chairman and Members of the City Club: Briefly I shall discuss the proposed Rocky Mountain National Park in the Rocky Mountains of Colorado, and as a prelude to that, I want to tell you two experiences which I had in the Rocky Mountains. As one of these was with a Chicago man, whose name I shall not mention, I prefer to tell it first. A number of years ago this Chicago man and I concluded to visit the Hallett Glacier, which is within the bounds of this proposed park. It was in the autumn when we went to the glacier, and after examining its upper slopes we concluded to go to the bottom. The day prior to our visit about four inches of new snow had fallen and had nicely smoothed the rough surface of the glacier. As it was a warm day, this snow had half melted and had become smooth and very oily. It looked easy to coast down to the bottom of the glacier, so we concluded simply to sit down on the snow and slide about half a mile to the bottom. But just at the instant we started to slide, when it was too late to stop, we spied at the bottom a huge grizzly bear feeding upon grasshoppers. As you may know, grasshoppers and other insects in flying over these icy fields in our mountains are often chilled and drop on the ice and are washed down to the bottom, where they accumulate in quantities. My Chicago friend tried to stop. Knowing something as I did of bear nature, I paid no attention to that, because I knew the bear would know enough to take care of himself. Just before we reached bottom the bear heard us or saw us coming and proceeded to get out of the way. My companion said he did not suppose he would ever be more frightened, no matter what turned up, than when he first had a glimpse of the bear at the bottom of that glacier.

An Open-Air Penitentiary

"Interested in scenery as I am, I am frequently running about the mountains.

I was greatly interested a few years ago when it was agreed to allow the convicts of the Colorado penitentiary to work upon the roads of that state. One important road which all Colorado people wanted to see built was from Canyon City to the very summit of the canyon of the Arkansas River. You know there is a railroad in Colorado which goes through the bottom of this canyon, the canyon being one of the deepest in the world for its width. In places it is more than half a mile deep. The convicts from the state penitentiary were set to work on this road. Incidentally, the convicts upon that work and upon other work in the state were kept in camps, were not guarded, worked under the charge of other convicts for so many hours a day, and worked faithfully. A careful check was kept upon the work which they performed and it was found that the convicts working under the direction of convicts, under no guards, turned out more work per day than men who received \$2 a day in another camp. You see it pays to get close to nature.

"One day I was out looking over the work to see what the convicts were doing and how they were doing it, when some other visitors came. They had heard of the wonderful work of the convicts and, of course, wanted to see what they were doing. Just as they came up I was talking with the convict who had charge of the camp. He was busy and had to go off to some other work, so one of the visitors wanted to know if I could show him about the place. I told him that I would be very glad to and I showed him where the men were working and what they were doing. He was greatly interested, but he came up there with the idea that everybody on the place was a convict, and presently in an undertone he wanted to know from me what I was there for.

"But at any rate, the convicts were placed on their honor, and in addition to that, mark you, they were camping out, getting close to nature, and their health and ideals were improving. Instead of feeling bitter towards society, they improved as the old colonists did in Australia. Australia, as you know, is largely populated by descendants of convicts who were sent there in early years. The descendants of those convicts have

placed upon the statute books some of the most public-spirited laws in the world.

"Coming to the question of the proposed Rocky Mountain National Park, why do we want a park any place? This may be a queer question to ask a Chicago audience, for Chicago as you know has done more for parks than any city in the world. I recall in *The Outlook* about two or three years ago an article by J. Horace McFarland of the American Civic Association, who said that the people in Chicago had also *used* their parks to better advantage than the people in any other city.

Do Parks Pay?

"Parks seem to be essential in modern times for human welfare. But before speaking briefly of their uses, let me ask you to remember that, as pointed out in a paper at the White House convention for the conservation of national resources by the president of the American Civic Association, scenery has a high economic value. I am sure that any of you who have not read that paper would be delighted to read it. But, at any rate, last year American people spent about \$350,000,000 in Europe. There isn't any objection to going to Europe, none whatever, but the fact remains that probably half of the people who go to Europe and spend their money would be quite delighted to spend their money here if the scenic places in the United States were really accessible.

The Proposed New Park and Its Features

"In the western part of the country there are, as the chairman has told you, twelve national parks, and in addition to these there are twenty-eight national monuments. There isn't any difference between a park and a monument except its name. Each contains some delightful scenic area that has been set apart for public recreation grounds. In developing this Rocky Mountain National Park, we want to add another to the list of national parks, and to do this for the public welfare. The proposed park embraces a forty-mile stretch of the continental divide of the Rocky Mountains, and is from fifteen to twenty miles wide. It embraces both slopes of the divide. Most of it lies at an altitude of 8,000

feet or upwards. About nine-tenths of it is above an altitude of 10,000 feet. Considered otherwise than scenically, it has no particular value. It is not a farming country, there is very little commercial timber, there are no mines, there is not enough grazing on it for a camper's horses. At the present time it brings a revenue of about \$1,200 a year for 700 square miles.

"This region has the characteristics that any region should have that is to be made a park. A park is a place for rest and recreation, and hence should be scenic and should have a good climate.

partment of the Interior. At the request of Secretary Fisher, whom many of you know, and President Taft, Mr. R. B. Marshall, chief geographer of the government, was sent to this region last summer, to examine and report upon it, as to whether it should or should not be made a national park. Mr. Marshall recommended it because of its scenic grandeur and its good climate. In his report he wrote as follows:

There is no predominant, commanding natural feature in Estes Park such as is found in the Crater Lake, the Yellowstone, or the Yosemite, or along the Grand Can-



Long's Peak, Proposed Rocky Mountain National Park

This region meets those demands and those characteristics.

The Scenery of the Park

"It is a scenic region. During the past fifty years travelers from every part of the world have visited that region and paid a tribute to its scenic worth. To show you that there is nothing new about this Rocky Mountain National Park region, I want to read you just a few lines from a report written in 1875 by Dr. Hayden, geologist:

Not only has nature amply supplied this region with features of great beauty and surroundings of admirable character, but it has thus distributed them that the eye of the artist may rest with perfect satisfaction on the complete picture presented.

"The region coming within this park has also been reported upon by the De-

yon of the Colorado, but the region as a whole is as beautiful as any to be found in the United States, or, indeed, in the world. There is spread before the eye a gorgeous assemblage of wonderful mountain sculpture, surrounded by fantastic and ever-changing clouds, suspended in an apparently atomless space. At first view, as one beholds the scene in awe and amazement, the effect is as of an enormous painting, a vast panorama stretching away for illimitable distances; gradually this idea of distance disappears, the magnificent work of nature seems to draw nearer and nearer, reduced apparently by an unseen microscope to the refinement of a delicate cameo. Each view becomes a refined miniature, framed by another more fascinating, the whole presenting an impressive picture never to be forgotten.

"So you see there are words of praise for the region. The proposal to make it a national park has the support of Colorado. It has been before the people

of Colorado as a project for four years, and Colorado is practically unanimous in favoring it.

"What is in this region? There are more than twenty-five peaks there above an altitude of 13,000 feet, the most conspicuous of which is Long's Peak, considered for years the king of the Rocky Mountains. There are a number of glaciers. Each summer, within the bounds of the proposed park, more than a thousand varieties of wild flowers bloom. This variety is due in part to the various altitudes and differences in precipitation. There are within this region several areas of primeval forests. There are many kinds of wild life. The most numerous of big animals are the Rocky Mountain sheep, which in this region have become so semi-tame that last year upwards of one hundred photographs were taken of them by tourists at a distance of less than fifty feet. Next to the wild sheep in abundance are deer. There are a few mountain lions, a few grizzly and black bears, a few wolves and coyotes.

Park Near to Population Centers

"The region is accessible. Two railroads run to the boundaries of the park and there are other trans-continental lines at Denver, only about forty miles away. Mr. Marshall on this point says:

Perhaps the most attractive feature of the plan to create this park, viewed from both the national and state standpoints, is the accessibility of the area. In considering the probable success of this proposed park, I have kept constantly in mind the enormous population of the eastern part of the United States which would derive benefit from it, its nearness to the large centers of population, and the low transportation charges in effect during the season in which it would be most visited. Estes Park can be reached from Chicago in about thirty hours and from Denver by automobile in about three hours. These factors will lead to a large amount of travel into the park from outside the state, and undoubtedly will result in its assuming a much more national character than any of the existing parks.

"I asked the question a while ago why there are parks. They will pay, for one reason. They have a sound financial basis. Switzerland receives annually about \$200,000,000 from travelers. The traveler is benefited undoubtedly and so too are the people of Switzerland. If we were to develop the parks in the West

instead of sending so many Americans to Europe, a great many of them would stay here and perhaps leave \$100,000,000 or \$200,000,000 on this side of the water. And in addition many European people, who know more of our scenery than we know ourselves, would visit it, if only it were known to be in an accessible condition.

Illinois' Neglected State Park

"There has been very little done for the national parks. They have been treated or mistreated like your state park. Your state Legislature set aside Starved Rock as a state park, but provided no money to operate it and take care of it. The result has been that it has really deteriorated. The Starved Rock region is an interesting one scientifically, the rocks there are interesting, the flowers are interesting, the birds are interesting. As you know, too, there is an historical interest attached to it.

"Further, lest I forget, the pine woods in Ogle County ought to be made another state park. I do not know of any other good example of white pine forests as far south as the pine woods in Ogle County. As you probably know, ten years ago when it was first attempted to make this a state park the proposal was combated for the sake of economy. Then the land was worth, I think, \$10,000. Now it is valued at more than \$30,000. As the Metropolitan Park Board of Massachusetts has said, the time to acquire park land is at once. In a few years all the desirable places for parks will either fall into private hands or will be ruined.

"The Rocky Mountain National Park which we urge lies entirely on government land; it will cost nothing to get it. It is simply a question of the people, through Congress, setting this region aside. There is now such a bill before Congress.

Parks Promote Efficiency

"Another reason for having parks: It has been shown over and over again that the man who spends a vacation out of doors is the efficient man. If you are a man employing clerks or factory workers or blacksmiths, it is of more importance to you for the workers to spend their vacation in the parks than in a

saloon. They will have better health and will live longer and do better work.

"I do not know of a better authority on this subject than the man whom I have already repeatedly mentioned, J. Horace McFarland, president of the American Civic Association. If I were asked to name the most useful American citizen, it would be Mr. McFarland. In speaking of this situation he says this:

The value of great scenic possessions is being increasingly recognized the world over. Its value is now known to have great influence upon the development of that best citizenship without which a country is poor indeed.

"So the entire park proposition may be summarized: It pays to have parks. As Mr. McFarland has expressed it, if you do not have parks, you will have to have more penitentiaries and more hospitals. By providing parks you are maintaining the health and also the ideals of the people.

"Children brought into contact with nature are as a rule interested. If you have parks and let the children go into them, you will awaken interest; when you once interest a boy or girl in that particular line, you will more easily interest them in another. Parks are educational.

"Last winter at the publishers' banquet, President Wilson said, in an address, that if you take away the scenic possessions of a people, you rob them of a great source of hopefulness. Beautiful scenery is always bright and cheerful. It is a good environment.

Commercial Value of Scenery

"It has been said over and over again that the land will be wasted if you set it aside in a park; but rough mountain land in Switzerland is annually paying from ten to twenty thousand dollars a square mile for scenic purposes, and in Colorado similar land is paying from fifty cents to two dollars a square mile for purely commercial purposes. The

scenery in Colorado is equally attractive. Roosevelt has well said that Colorado is the natural playground of the American people. It will not become the playground of the people unless we set aside parks for people to play in. Using land for its scenic attractiveness is perhaps putting it to its highest and greatest use; this is real conservation. Conservation embraces scenery.

"The Japanese people have a hundred religions. They are not a unit in religion, but they are a unit in one thing, and that is their worship of nature. You know Japan is known as the land of the cherry blossoms. The wonderful cherry tree in Japan does not bear fruit. It gives all its richness and energy to the bloom and the blossom, and its bloom unifies the entire Japanese people, whether in time of peace or war.

Keep America Beautiful

"To state it all over again, it has been shown that scenic regions pay better when used for parks than for any other purpose. It has been shown that Niagara will pay more as a tourists' resort than it will as a power proposition. As Abraham Lincoln, who was purely a child of the outdoors, once said: 'Niagara has the power of exciting emotions and causing people to forget their troubles. It rests them.' Rest is one of the needs of the day and that is why we provide parks. They are closely related to the health of the people, the hopefulness of the people, the education of the people. Let us develop our national system of parks. Keep America beautiful. We cannot love an ugly country. No country has ever been destroyed because of its beauty. No nation has ever fallen because of having beautiful scenery. Let us have parks, so that when this age shall pass away we can say with Keats:

"Beauty is truth, truth beauty"—that is all
Ye know on earth, and all ye need to
know.

(Applause.)



A BILL TO ESTABLISH A STATE EPILEPTIC COLONY IN ILLINOIS

The following bill to provide a suitable home for the epileptic poor was introduced in the Senate of the state of Illinois, February 18, 1913. It was originally drafted by Mr. A. L. Bowman, secretary of the State Charities Commission, and is now under consideration at Springfield. Men in close touch with the problem of the epileptic approve of the bill and urge that it be passed.

48th G. A. Senate Bill No. 132. 1913.

A BILL

For an Act providing for the creating, locating, constructing, and administering of a state colony for the care and treatment of epileptics.

WHEREAS, There are, in Illinois, at least 10,000 persons of all ages and conditions, suffering from epilepsy; and,

WHEREAS, Such persons are proper and fit subjects for state care and treatment; and,

WHEREAS, By reason of the very nature of this disease such persons are prevented from employing their time with profit, and the young epileptic is debarred from the public and private schools because of such misfortune, and the epileptic at large suffers grave physical injuries; and,

WHEREAS, In colony life the epileptic finds safe employment, opportunity for improving his condition, mental and physical, and protection; therefore,

SECTION 1. *Be it enacted by the people of the State of Illinois, represented in the General Assembly:*

That there be and is hereby created and established a State Colony for Epileptics to be administered under the direction of the State Board of Administration in accordance with the terms and provisions of an Act of the General Assembly entitled, "An Act to revise the laws relating to charities," approved June 11, 1912, in force July 1, 1912. Said colony shall be known and designated as provided in said Act, or by such other name and designation as may be given to it by said State Board of Administration. The said colony shall be

located upon ground to be selected by the State Board of Administration, as hereinafter provided. It shall be the duty of said board to so locate said colony that its inmates may be employed a maximum period each year in the open air.

Sec. 2. The State Board of Administration is hereby authorized and directed to acquire a proper site for the location of said colony of not less than 1,000 acres of land.

If said board shall be unable to acquire said site and lands, or any part thereof, by agreement with the owner or owners for the purchase of the same for the purposes enumerated in this Act, the said Board of Administration may thereupon proceed to acquire such lands and the title thereto in the manner that may now or hereafter be provided for by an Act entitled, "An Act to provide for the exercise of right of eminent domain," approved April 1, 1872, in force July 1, 1872, and any and all Act or Acts amendatory thereto.

Sec. 3. On determination of the site and lands provided for in Section 2 of this Act, the Board of Administration shall cause to be prepared by the State Architect and his consulting engineer plans and specifications for the creation of an institution on the cottage system of proportions sufficient for the care and comfort of not less than 1,500 inmates, together with suitable quarters for a superintendent, officers and employes; that all of the buildings provided for in this Act shall be of the most approved type of fireproof construction, durable and free from ornamentation; that all buildings designed for care of inmates shall be of not more than two stories and basement, with inclines instead of stairs to connect the floors; that the said plans and specifications shall provide all necessary heating, lighting, power, ventilation, water supply, and drainage appliances, and all other equipment necessary to insure an institution adequate for the purposes intended, and sanitary in all respects. Construction shall not be begun.

however, until the plans and specifications have been first approved by the State Board of Administration, in accordance with the provisions of an Act entitled, "An Act to revise the laws relating to charities," approved June 11, 1912, in force July 1, 1912, and all subsequent amendments thereto.

Sec. 4. The object of said colony shall be to secure for *bona fide* resident epileptics of Illinois a place of employment, instruction, treatment, and custody. Said colony shall be so planned, arranged, and constructed that there shall be adequate segregation of the sexes, separation of children from adults, and proper classification of the inmates.

Sec. 5. Said colony shall maintain a staff of physicians, educated and trained in the care and treatment of nervous and mental diseases, who shall perform such duties in accordance with rules to be formulated by the State Board of Administration.

Sec. 6. The superintendent and members of the staff of said colony shall have the same access and enjoy the same opportunities for study, research, and information at the State Psychopathic Institute as are employed by the superintendent and members of the staffs of State hospitals for insane; and it shall be the duty of the State Board of Administration to make the necessary provisions for research and study of epilepsy, its causes, methods of treatment, and probable measures of prevention.

Sec. 7. Applicants, residents of Illinois, may be admitted to said colony by either of the following methods: 1. Upon voluntary application to the superintendent, substantiated by proof that said applicant is in need of care and treatment of said colony, such proof to consist of certificates from two physicians setting forth that said applicant for admission is an epileptic. Such certificates shall be under oath and made within thirty days next preceding the filing of such application. Physicians making such certificates shall be duly licensed to practice medicine or surgery in the State of Illinois, and shall have been in the actual practice of their profession. The application, certificate and other forms relating to the admission shall be in ac-

cordance with the rules and forms prescribed by the State Board of Administration. 2. Any parent, relative, conservator, guardian, or reputable citizen, may file a petition in any court of record of the county where the alleged epileptic resides, setting forth that the person is suffering from epilepsy and is a proper subject for the care and custody of said colony. Such court shall make an inquiry in term time or vacation into the mental and nervous condition of such person to determine whether he is or is not an epileptic; and if it is found upon the evidence of two or more reputable physicians that such person is an epileptic, said court may order the admission of such a person, and it shall be the duty of the superintendent to receive him or her and record him or her among the inmates of said colony, provided that in case there is no room in said colony, the said person shall wait his or her turn. County quotas of inmates to said colony shall be based upon population to be determined by the State Board of Administration.

If upon further examination at the said colony it shall appear that such person is not suffering from epilepsy, then it shall be the duty of the superintendent to recommend to the State Board of Administration, and the State Board of Administration to direct the return to the party or parties responsible for his or her admission, and all charges for expenses of such return shall be collected from the party or parties responsible for his or her admission, and all charges for expenses of such return shall be collected from the party or parties responsible for his or her admission, provided that it shall be shown to the satisfaction of said court at the time of the inquiry that the said person, his or her parents and relatives, are not able to bear such expenses; then such expenses shall be paid out of the county funds: *Provided, also*, that the terms of section twenty-three of "An Act revising the laws relating to charities," approved June 11, 1912, and in force July 1, 1912, shall be applied by the State Board of Administration to the inmates of this colony and their friends and relatives.

It shall be unlawful to keep in said colony any insane person, and any such insane person who shall wrongfully ob-

tain admission shall be returned to the county from which he or she was a resident before admission.

Sec. 8. The superintendent and members of the medical staff or other officers or employes of said colony shall not be liable at law for receiving or detaining, as provided for in this Act, any person coming to said colony under the terms of this Act.

Sec. 9. The transfer of all patients from county or city institutions to said colony shall be paid by the county or city. Female patients so transferred shall be accompanied by at least one female officer or attendant designated by the court to perform such duty, and no female shall be transferred from said colony to her home or to another institution except she is accompanied by a reputable female attendant, selected by the superintendent to perform this duty.

Sec. 10. Discharge and parole from said colony shall be under the direction and control of the State Board of Ad-

ministration, which State Board of Administration shall formulate suitable rules and regulation governing the same.

Sec. 11. The State Board of Administration is hereby empowered to make and enforce rules and regulations under the general terms of this Act and of "An Act to revise the laws in relation to charities," approved June 11, 1912, in force July 1, 1912, governing the administration, maintenance and discipline of the said colony.

Sec. 12. (Repeal.) The following Act and parts of Act are hereby repealed: "An Act to establish the Illinois State Colony for Epileptics, and for making an appropriation therefor (approved April 19, 1899, in force July 1, 1899), and all Acts or provisions in any Act, in conflict with this Act, are hereby repealed.

Sec. 13. The invalidity of any portion of this Act shall not affect the validity of any other portion hereof, which can be given effect without such invalid part.



EPILEPSY—A STATE PROBLEM

Mr. Herbert J. Friedman, presiding at the noon-day meeting of the City Club, March 8, 1913, opened the discussion of the care of epileptics with the following address:

THE CHAIRMAN—"Members of the City Club: It has long been recognized among students of the disease of epilepsy that the best way to take care of the victims is in a colony. The state of Illinois recognized this as long ago as the year 1899, for in that year the Legislature passed an act for the establishment of a colony. The commissioners, however, could not agree upon a location or a site, and afterwards the Legislature did not renew its appropriation, and the bill failed of its purpose. The bill, however, was incomplete, and possibly it was just as well that at that time it was not carried into effect, for since then a great deal has been learned in other states about the establishment of colonies for epileptics.

"Ever since the year 1899 there has been a demand for the re-enactment of some law for the establishment of a colony; sometimes the demand has been insistent and at other times less insistent. This year it seems that various organizations have concentrated their efforts so that something may be accomplished.

"The City Club, through one of its committees on penal and reformatory institutions, appointed a sub-committee for the study of the subject of epileptics and their care. That sub-committee made a most excellent and thorough report. I can say this in good grace, because I was not a member of the sub-committee, and had nothing whatsoever to do with the report.

"About the same time a voluntary organization known as the committee of fifty, comprised of well-known men and physicians of standing in this community, got up a much more exhaustive report, showing what had been done and what had been accomplished in various other states in this country, and the benefits of the establishment of such a colony. Their efforts have been directed very largely through Mr. Kingsley.

"At the same time the State Board of Charities and the State Board of Admin-

istration of this State have been working along the same lines. The bill that has been introduced into the Legislature was originally drafted by one of the speakers today, was afterwards gone over by the State Board of Administration, and subsequently was sent for criticism to the committee of fifty and to the committee of this club. This bill is now pending and it is the hope of those who are interested in this subject that it will be passed by the present Legislature.

"The gentlemen who are about to speak to you have all taken a leading part in this movement, as well as in every other movement that concerns the betterment and the better living of our dependent and weaker brothers. The first speaker of the day will be Mr. Sherman C. Kingsley, who has again demonstrated his fitness for leadership in having directed the movement of the committee of fifty. It is with pleasure that I introduce to you Mr. Kingsley." (Applause.)

Sherman G. Kingsley

"Mr. Chairman and Gentlemen of the City Club: At Mr. Friedman's request I will say a few words today on the general subject of how I became interested in epileptics.

"Perhaps many of you know that for some time I was connected with the United Charities of Chicago; and I have been in similar work in other cities. Every once in a while in that kind of work one makes the acquaintance of persons who are in some way afflicted; and it became a part of our duty to deal with some of the unfortunates who were afflicted with epilepsy. Studies of the various classes of defectives in this country have been made, and it has been found that there is about one epileptic to every 500 of the population. This result, arrived at both in this country and abroad by careful studies, gives us in the state of Illinois something over 11,000 epileptics. About 1,000 of these people are cared for in the insane hospitals, in the prisons, and sometimes in the school for the feeble minded. That is the only provision that we have made for them in the state of Illinois. They are often very improperly cared for in

these institutions, because they are not necessarily insane; but the community when confronted with the problem becomes so utterly frantic in its efforts to find a place for these people that all kinds of expedients are resorted to.

Symptoms of Epilepsy

"It is an extremely difficult thing for the family to take care of an epileptic child or an adult epileptic, unless the family has ample resources and can give the kind of attention and supervision that the patient needs. The unfortunate thing about epilepsy is that when the disease is in a poor family the victim is unable to secure employment, and if the epileptic is a child, the child must be excluded from school, because it is rather a dreadful thing to witness the seizures. Perhaps some of you have seen people throw fits; it is a much more dreadful spectacle to witness than to see a person die, because where the convulsions are violent it is a very distressing sight. If the seizure happens at school it throws the school into confusion; it is dreadful if it happens on a street car, or where the person is employed, in the view of a great many people.

"When they are finally picked up and carded for these poor people are found to be covered with bruises and scalds and scars of different kinds, mute witnesses to the kind of experiences that they have encountered; and if there comes along with epilepsy the distressing influence of being denied attendance at school, or being denied employment, I presume the constant discouragement reacts upon the patients, and perhaps then makes the sufferings more frequent and hastens the deterioration.

"Now, when you get close to the situation and try to help the family out, try to get employment for the epileptic, try to get the boy or the girl afflicted with epilepsy back into school, or some satisfactory program set in motion in their behalf—then you find out something of what a burden the family bears who may be trying to do the reasonable, the safe, the wise and the helpful thing for the victim without any resources at hand to accomplish it.

Better Facilities Needed for Treatment of Epileptic Children

"One of the first cases that I came across when I began the work in Chicago was a little boy who had been denied school. He got on fairly well in his studies. So far as his mentality was concerned, he could make his grades, getting 95 per cent in some of his studies, but he was denied school on account of his epilepsy and a place had to be found for him.

"The only institution which seemed open to him was the School for the Feeble Minded at Lincoln, and although the charity application blanks of Lincoln say that it is not for epileptics, yet the stress is so great to get something done that often an attempt is made to get a patient into the School for the Feeble Minded. Now, it seemed to the people who knew this boy and the situation that it was pretty raw that a boy with good mentality should be sent to the School for the Feeble Minded. However, because the school was full, he did not get in. What this great state of Illinois did with this little fellow of 9 years of age was to send him out to Dunning, and put him in a ward with fifty insane men out there, where he had a chance to hear and see things which he never forgot.

"A citizen, a woman, by chance saw the boy out there, saw this little lad, this bright, winning looking little chap, in among those men in all stages of dementia, and realized something must be done to get him out. The boy expressed a desire to go where it was quiet, and, if any of you have ever spent any time in a place like that, you will appreciate why he expressed the wish to go to a place where it was quiet. For a time he was sent to the country, and he did fairly well there, but had to come home finally and lead a very uncertain existence. Among other experiences he was sent to the bridewell, and after a while at 11 years of age he solved his own problem by dying.

Desperate Straits of the Epileptic Poor

"Just a while ago in the Juvenile Court was a poor woman who appeared on one side of the judge's bench, and on the other side was a little child, a little girl, who had epilepsy, and she had been living up in an attic room with this woman; both of them nearly starved to

death. The child had been abandoned by her parents and she had in some way or other found this woman, and the woman being an epileptic herself sympathized with the child and took her in, and, as I say, both of them nearly starved to death before they were discovered. When they were brought to the Juvenile Court an attempt was made to solve the problem, but without any facilities at hand.

"In out state conferences in various parts of the state we sometimes have a round table meeting, where people from the different parts of the state can come and tell something of the needs in their communities; and there is never a meeting of that sort but people from all over the state get up and ask you what they can do, where they can turn, what resources are at hand for epileptics. You will remember, we have about 10,000 of them in the state.

Relief Should Come From the State

"It is not true, indeed, that all of the 10,000 need care, but a great many of them do need care; and they need it pretty badly. The hope is that at this coming session of the Legislature of Illinois a bill creating such a colony will be passed. You will hear more about what the colony can do from the other speakers. We will hope that this thing will come about at this session of the Legislature. In a pamphlet which is now being distributed you will find a map showing what the different senatorial districts are, and also in it are the names of the senators and the representatives from each of the fifty-one districts. If you feel impelled to do anything for the epileptics of the state when the subject comes before the Legislature,* we hope that you will use your influence with your senator or your representative, whose names are listed for convenience in the pamphlet; we hope that you will do anything that you can to put at the disposal of these very needy epileptic people the resources that Illinois ought to provide for them.

"Nine states have already discharged at least a part of their duty by creating epileptic colonies, and at least fifteen other states have done something fairly

adequate, and we think it is about time that Illinois join in the movement to give better care to our unfortunate brothers." (Applause.)

CHAIRMAN FRIEDMAN — "The next speaker will be Dr. Emil G. Hirsch, who for the last eight years has so well served the State Charities Commission, and who has always been of such great aid to every other philanthropic movement by his industry, knowledge and energy. Dr. Hirsch will speak on the subject, 'Epilepsy, a State Problem.'" (Applause.)

Dr. Emil G. Hirsch

"Mr. Chairman: I believe I am in the situation in which an attorney found himself who was talking along incessantly until the judge stopped him, and said, 'You had better not talk any more, the court is with you.'

"I have no doubt that all of you agree that the treatment of epilepsy is a state problem; I need say nothing to convince you of that. There are certain features of philanthropy that ought to appeal to private organizations; and in fields where private work is advisable, I for one hold that the efforts made by private organizations, and even individuals, as a rule, are more efficient than any work that could be undertaken by the state authorities. But, on the other hand, there are forms of dependency and distress that are of a nature to transcend whatever means private organizations might command. Among these certainly are tuberculosis, especially in its advanced stages, and epilepsy, just as insanity has come to be recognized as a form of dependency that on the whole must be treated by the state.

"A private organization face to face with such suffering as epilepsy, and such disability as it produces, might at times, by positively resorting to custodial appliances, take care of one or two, and provide the ordinary comforts for the patient, and relieve perhaps the family of the burden of looking after the dependent; but beyond this, under the most favorable circumstances, private resources would not be adequate. Therefore, it behooves the state to make provision for the care, and possibly for the cure, if a cure be possible, of the one afflicted with this peculiar disease.

*The bill now in the Senate, listed as Senate Bill No. 132, is reprinted in this issue of the Bulletin. See page 114.

Stillwater, a month or so ago?' and the boy answered, 'I am.' The attorney said, 'I told you you had just five minutes to catch that train,' and the boy replied, 'Yes, and I made it, didn't I?' The lawyer turned to me and whispered: 'I would hesitate to tell you what it would have cost me if that boy had had an epileptic attack, even a minor one, when he had those papers of mine in his possession and had delayed them or lost them.'

"That boy was taken back and sent immediately to the state colony for epileptics, something that could not have been done for him in this state.

"The boy displayed, as I have said, the best ambitions and intentions. He would say: 'Me for the wilderness. When I was living out on the farm I was all right there, but in town I can't

resist the temptations.' We ascertained that there had been a gradual mental and moral deterioration, even in this boy who meant well; his impulses now led him towards a bad life. He had run away several times before, and on this occasion he had come down to Chicago, having joined a circus which disbanded here and left him high and dry. Of course, he picked up with a man who would naturally pick up with a vagrant boy in a State street arcade, a counterfeiter who wanted somebody to pass his 'green goods.' Family sorrow, delinquency, and the potentiality of much moral danger to himself and expense to others, followed in the train of the disease in this as in all typical cases which remain socially unprotected." (Applause.)

PROPOSED BOND ISSUE—JUUL LAW AMENDMENT

The Board of Directors of the City Club, on February 13, 1913, adopted the following resolution:

WHEREAS, In the judgment of the city authorities the present financial situation of the city of Chicago requires a bond issue to meet the 1912 deficit, and also requires legislative relief to meet the recent ruling of the Su-

preme Court in connection with the Juul law; now therefore it is

Resolved, That the directors of the City Club of Chicago approve the proposed bond issue of \$2,880,000 by the city of Chicago to provide for the deficit of 1912, and also approve the amendment to the Juul law which shall prevent a recurrence of the present financial emergency.



2493 Vol. 1

The City Club Bulletin

Published by the CITY CLUB OF CHICAGO, 315 Plymouth Court

DWIGHT L. AKERS, Editor*

VOLUME VI

FRIDAY, APRIL 18, 1913

LIBRARY

OF THE UNIVERSITY OF ILLINOIS

NUMBER 7

25 APR '13

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PROPOSED CHANGES IN THE ILLINOIS CONSTITUTION

Mr. William B. Moulton, presiding at the meeting of the City Club, March 29, 1913, opened the discussion of the proposed constitutional changes with the following address:

THE CHAIRMAN—"Gentlemen of the City Club: The subjects for discussion this afternoon are in themselves very important, and important, too, because of their relation to the basic law of the commonwealth. The first constitution of Illinois was that of 1818. Thirty years later we adopted a second constitution. In 1862 a constitutional convention was called, and a third constitution was submitted to the people and was rejected. Eight years later, we adopted the present constitution of Illinois, under which the government of the state has been conducted for forty-three years.

"Under our present constitution it is exceedingly difficult to make an amendment to the constitution. In the first place, two-thirds of the members of the Legislature must agree upon a resolution to be submitted. In the second place, it requires, not a majority of those vot-

ing on the proposition, but a majority of those voting at the election to adopt the amendment. But the restriction which brings about the conflict between the positions which these gentlemen are going to talk about this afternoon, is the restriction in the amending clause which forbids the Legislature to propose amendments to more than one article at a time. They can submit but one article for amendment at each session of the Legislature, and one article not oftener than once in four years. The three amendments to be talked about this afternoon are amendments to different articles of the constitution. No two of them can be submitted. Which one shall be submitted? That is the proposition these gentlemen are going to present to you.

"The fourth subject, 'The Constitutional Convention,' is not in conflict with the amendments to be submitted, because a resolution calling a constitutional convention can be submitted along with the resolution submitting an amendment.

"The first speaker, Mr. George E. Cole, will talk to you upon the initiative and referendum amendments."

*Carlos Colton Daughaday, Acting Editor

they were, were composed largely of political berth-holders. Superintendents as a rule were political physicians selected because they controlled a county or district. No attempt was made to classify the insane or to diagnose them along scientific lines, and only the idealist advanced the thought that the state should study mental and nervous diseases, with a view to improvement, cure or prevention.

State Charity Service Needs Sympathetic Popular Sentiment

"This picture represents the futility of starting something and then going away and leaving it. Our state, for eight years, has been trying to bring about by radical changes what should have been the evolution of these years. What happened in our system of state care of the insane is not so likely to happen in our system of state care of the epileptic, but I want to warn the friends of this movement of the dangers before them, and to advise them of the grave responsibility which they must not shirk the minute the governor signs the bill creating a colony for epileptics.

"There is no department of the state government that needs the support of an intelligent, sympathetic public sentiment so much as the charity service. The success of this department, and of our charitable institutions, depends upon the degree of confidence, intelligence, sympathy and co-operation that the public gives to them.

"We are going to take care of our epileptics. Do you know what it means? Do you know what it involves? If you think all there is to it is to buy a piece of land, erect some buildings, fill them with epileptics, and there feed and clothe a couple of thousand of them for the rest of their lives—if this is the conception of the friends of these unfortunates, then we had better not create the colony. We had a similar conception of the problem of the insane forty-five years ago, and it took more than thirty-five years to dislodge it from the public mind.

The Cause of Epilepsy a Mystery

"The mere passage of this bill is the smallest, the least demand from your interest. It is necessary that the colony itself represent the wisest thought of our day and the full experience of other

states who have established similar institutions. There are only eight or nine of them—none of them are very old. Accumulated experiences are not great; excepting those persons who in the newspaper pages make extravagantly false claims to cure epilepsy, no one really knows anything about it, either as to cause, cure, or prevention.

The Colony

"To build, equip, and administer this colony the state authorities will need and seek the united brain and experience of this and other states, which means the brain and experience of the layman as well as the professional man, and even should they have it all, they are going to make some mistakes.

"It is said that there are 10,000 epileptics in Illinois; there are only 15,000 insane patients in our state hospitals. Epilepsy, therefore, is as great a problem, according to numerical standards, as the insane, and scientifically, I presume, it is equally as difficult and delicate. Epilepsy is curable in so small a per cent of cases that it may be classified among the incurable diseases of the race. It is improveable largely through environmental means.

Individual Treatment for Improvable Cases

"Our colony must be constructed with a view to environment, not of a class, but of individuals. The young and improvable epileptic should be given first attention. He may be educated, observed, and studied. Of his class, a percentage admitted to be very small will maintain themselves upon a fairly normal mental level. A large percentage will deteriorate at various rates of speed and become chronics, and to these chronics, as separate and distinct from the young and improvable, different means must be applied. Of the chronics, some will go insane; all will be growing older. Of prime necessity, therefore, becomes segregation: first, a separate colony for each of the sexes; then the sexes must be classified according to age, to mental and physical types, and to prospective outcome.

Segregation of Sexes and Classes

"It is important that the sexes, and the different grades of each sex, shall be housed and shall spend their lives unseen by each other. Thus the demand

arises for a large area of land, part of which may be devoted to the quarters, preferably cut up by gulches and ravines, and the rest given over to farming, gardening, dairying, poultry raising, fruit growing and the like. Family and home life must be reproduced so far as is possible; hence we advise the small cottage as the most desirable unit of construction. The colony should be in a section of the state where the season of mild weather is longest.

"The colony should have hospitals for the sick; it should have school houses and workshops for those simple occupations at which an epileptic, in seizure, will not be injured; it must have facilities for recreation for the child, the youth, the middle aged and the old; there must be records of personal history, medical and physical findings, clinical data, etc., of each patient, and diagnosis and classification of each patient by the staff. The staff itself should be large, insuring individual attention to patients with a view of placing each one in the very best environment so as to prevent, or at least retard, the processes of deterioration. Such a staff should consist of men and women, not only expert medically, but competent to direct the industrial and recreational life of the patient.

"The bill provides that the staff members shall have the same privileges at the State Psychopathic Institute as are enjoyed by the staffs of the hospitals for insane, and requires the Institute to inaugurate and prosecute original investigations into the causes, treatment and prevention of epilepsy.

An Appeal for Sustained Interest

"The state can best care for the epileptic. It is the best agency to prosecute research into the nature, causes and prevention of epilepsy, and the friends of this movement must see to it that the state does this very work. Similar study is now in process in our state hospitals for the insane. It has materially assisted in the last eight years in changing the people's attitude towards these institutions from one of suspicion and hostility to one of interest and confidence. It has been correcting public sentiment and is sweeping away traditional ideas of insanity which have prevented proper treatment. Such public sentiment as is

now forming will clear our statutes of archaic and barbarous commitment laws and will establish our institutions as centers of research, study, and the dissemination of knowledge of preventive measures, which, when practiced, will relieve the world of much suffering and woe.

"It has taken us forty years to arrive at this very promising gateway in the field of insanity. In creating the epileptic colony let us begin in the right way and go ahead in the right way and thus prevent the mistake that held our hospitals for the insane in undue restraint for so many years. I appeal, therefore, for your sustained, intelligent interest in the epileptic colony in the years to follow the enactment of the bill creating it; first, to the end that it may be built upon the very latest and most modern lines; second, that it be administered primarily for research and study into the nature, causes, and prevention of epilepsy, always, of course, guaranteeing the living victim comforts and pleasures and the environment that will reduce his suffering to the minimum; third, that the colony shall be the means of opening our eyes wider to the suffering about us, and our hearts more responsively to our duty as citizens to the 20,000 public wards today housed in our state institutions." (Applause.)

CHAIRMAN FRIEDMAN — "In connection with the Juvenile Court there is maintained what is known as the Psychopathic Institute, and, as its name implies, this institute makes a study of the proper treatment of mental disorders.

"The institute is not maintained, as I understand, by the public, but from private sources. The director of this institute is Dr. William Healy, who has paid particular attention to the mental diseases of juveniles. Dr. Healey will conclude the program by addressing you on the subject of 'Epilepsy in the Child.'" (Applause.)

Dr. William Healy

"Gentlemen: My topic, I think, might be more properly denominated 'The Relationship of Epilepsy to the Child and to the Delinquent.'

"This afternoon I can only offer you in the few minutes at my disposal the barest outlines of the general subject, but I shall hope to make these outlines

as clear as possible on account of their scientific import. Lest there be misapprehension in this matter, let me call to your attention the fact that probably all of you know epileptics who do not come in the category of the individuals that I am going to speak to you about—epileptics who can maintain their place in the world fairly well. I know many such. There are cases that get well, rare, to be sure; but there are many cases in whom there are infrequent attacks, perhaps nocturnal, and the individual is able to pursue a fairly calm path through life.

Definition of Epilepsy

"Now about the definition of this subject. Just what are we talking about? There is epilepsy and there is epilepsy. It has been recently proposed by medical people to speak of the 'epilepsies' rather than of 'epilepsy.' In general, however, we know well enough what we mean. We know the epileptic to be an individual who suffers from special convulsive attacks. Here I should at once call your attention to another most important class of cases that has not been mentioned this afternoon, comprising the individuals who suffer from what we call *petit mal*, or 'minor epilepsy,' individuals who have momentary periods of unconsciousness or motor disturbance. These, strangely enough, suffer from a greater proportionate amount of mental and moral deterioration in proportion than do the individuals who have major attacks.

Social Significance

"Now this whole disease, both in its major and minor manifestations, can be safely regarded at the present time as an almost incurable disease. It rests upon a pathological basis that is very little known. We hope every year that one might say something different about it, but at present such is the truth. Correlated with this disease there are various mental phenomena and the products of mental irregularities which are socially very significant. Perhaps the greatest reason why epileptics should be cared for thoroughly by the state is to be found in tracing out these results. We shall have more to say about that in a minute.

"The peculiar social significance of epilepsy rests upon two main facts. In the first place, there is a distinct tend-

ency towards mental weakness and aberration that is developed quite apart from the moments of actual unconsciousness. Many textbooks dwell on this, speaking of the gradual change in temperament of the epileptic, of the loss of finer ethical discriminations, and the production of certain twilight states of consciousness that one cannot well define as insanity or sanity, nor safely deal with as clear responsibility or clear irresponsibility.

Crime and Epilepsy

"This peculiarity of the epileptic temperament, especially the tendency toward variation in mental states, would have tremendous significance under the law for the consideration of delinquency if, as Roscoe Pound says, the courts were more socialized; if they regarded the question of the production of crimes from some larger standpoint than that of individual responsibility and punishment. We find that so direct is the relation of this epileptic temperament and epileptic irregularity to the production of crime that, in court work, it becomes a question of immense importance, altogether distinct from the rare occurrence of criminal acts at the time of the seizures themselves.

"In the article on 'Crime and Epilepsy,' of which we recently distributed reprints, I have called attention to the fact that in nearly a thousand consecutive cases of unselected, young, repeated offenders no less than 7 or $7\frac{1}{2}$ per cent are known to have epilepsy. When you compare that with the ordinary statement that one in every 500, or one-fifth of one per cent of normal individuals, is epileptic, you will see at once the immense significance of epilepsy in the production of crime and delinquency. Here again may I insist that this is quite apart from the cases of criminal insanity, even from the so-called automatic states, in which some crimes are committed.

"One of the most interesting findings gained by study of delinquency in these cases is the fact that, strangely enough, although these individuals are sufferers from a disease, they frequently have also an abnormal early general physical development and sex development. It is upon this basis that they become so frequently sex offenders, rapists and the

like. Some of the most desperate and degenerate criminals of all time have been epileptics. In this connection may I call your attention to the fact that Lombroso, the foremost of the students of criminology along the old anthropological lines, became so imbued with the idea of the connection of epilepsy with crime that he went so far as to say the born criminal was an epileptic; that he may not have shown the actual seizures, but that the trend and course of his life show the innate epileptic tendency of his constitution.

Environmental Conditions

"The next main reason for the social significance of epilepsy has not to do with innate, but with environmental conditions. We have heard already that the individual who is epileptic is very limited in his educational and in his vocational opportunities, a most important point, and one that I agree with most heartily. Now what is the result of this? What is the result of habitual idleness and a vacuous mind? Nothing but association, in the majority of cases, with evil companionship and the ready acceptance of vicious suggestion. These, put together with the notorious loss of the finer ethical discriminations, bring about a most untoward result in a large share of cases. We have one fact piling up on another; environmental cause piling upon innate tendency.

"Seen in the light of these two factors we perceive that the problem of epilepsy is particularly important to deal with during childhood. Most cases, as is shown, have their first attacks during childhood, and can then be recognized as such. Highly important it must be, then, to keep this morally susceptible individual from deteriorative environmental conditions, and from sinking into all sorts of mental and moral depths.

"Then, too, the social aspect of the whole affair can be emphasized by calculating the huge cost of those epileptic individuals who become some of the most notorious repeaters in our courts.

"Now just a word in regard to the case that Mr. Kingsley called your attention to. This boy was a delinquent and the reason he was sent to the school, and then to the hospital, in connection with the bridewell was the fact that already

serious complaint against him had been made by his own family.

"Epilepsy, then, often becomes not only an individual problem and a family problem, but grows into a state problem of the greatest importance.

Delinquency and Epilepsy

"A case that I have seen within a couple of months epitomizes a great many of the features of this whole subject, and is worth repeating to you. A boy was picked up by a policeman of the central detail a short time ago, who found him asleep in the basement of a saloon downtown, and when taken to the station it was ascertained that he had recently been in company with a counterfeiter. The United States Secret Service people were put in communication with him, but his testimony proved so unreliable that they could get no trace of the man who had this boy in tow for a week or ten days. This lad was a runaway from St. Paul. As one observed him in the Detention Home he was seen to have several attacks in the course of an hour in which his head would jerk over to one side, his eyes roll up, and his face become absolutely expressionless. After about thirty seconds or so he would give a sigh and say: 'What were you talking about?' The boy was thus having minor manifestations of epilepsy, which were very plain to the observer. We heard that on two occasions in Chicago he had had major attacks, and at one time had been carried unconscious into a drug store. Now this boy was a ruddy checked, typical American boy, a boy with good intentions and good ambitions. But he had run away from his home in St. Paul, and we found that he had been in trouble before for running away from home, and he also said he had gotten into a little financial difficulty with the company he worked for.

"Before the boy was sent back to the police department at St. Paul, some visitors, among them a prominent St. Paul lawyer, were being shown over the Juvenile Court. The lawyer went up to see this boy from his home town and he looked at him, saying, 'Didn't you work for the Western Union?' and the boy replied, 'Yes.' 'Are you not the boy to whom I gave some valuable papers to take to

Stillwater, a month or so ago?' and the boy answered, 'I am.' The attorney said, 'I told you you had just five minutes to catch that train,' and the boy replied, 'Yes, and I made it, didn't I?' The lawyer turned to me and whispered: 'I would hesitate to tell you what it would have cost me if that boy had had an epileptic attack, even a minor one, when he had those papers of mine in his possession and had delayed them or lost them.'

"That boy was taken back and sent immediately to the state colony for epileptics, something that could not have been done for him in this state.

"The boy displayed, as I have said, the best ambitions and intentions. He would say: 'Me for the wilderness. When I was living out on the farm I was all right there, but in town I can't

resist the temptations.' We ascertained that there had been a gradual mental and moral deterioration, even in this boy who meant well; his impulses now led him towards a bad life. He had run away several times before, and on this occasion he had come down to Chicago, having joined a circus which disbanded here and left him high and dry. Of course, he picked up with a man who would naturally pick up with a vagrant boy in a State street arcade, a counterfeiter who wanted somebody to pass his 'green goods.' Family sorrow, delinquency, and the potentiality of much moral danger to himself and expense to others, followed in the train of the disease in this as in all typical cases which remain socially unprotected." (Applause.)

PROPOSED BOND ISSUE—JUUL LAW AMENDMENT

The Board of Directors of the City Club, on February 13, 1913, adopted the following resolution:

WHEREAS, In the judgment of the city authorities the present financial situation of the city of Chicago requires a bond issue to meet the 1912 deficit, and also requires legislative relief to meet the recent ruling of the Su-

preme Court in connection with the Juul law; now therefore it is

Resolved, That the directors of the City Club of Chicago approve the proposed bond issue of \$2,880,000 by the city of Chicago to provide for the deficit of 1912, and also approve the amendment to the Juul law which shall prevent a recurrence of the present financial emergency.



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The City Club Bulletin

Published by the CITY CLUB OF CHICAGO, 315 Plymouth Court

DWIGHT L. AKERS, Editor*

VOLUME VI

FRIDAY, APRIL 18, 1913

LIBRARY
OF THE
UNIVERSITY OF ILLINOIS
NUMBER 7
15 APR '13

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PROPOSED CHANGES IN THE ILLINOIS CONSTITUTION

Mr. William B. Moulton, presiding at the meeting of the City Club, March 29, 1913, opened the discussion of the proposed constitutional changes with the following address:

THE CHAIRMAN—"Gentlemen of the City Club: The subjects for discussion this afternoon are in themselves very important, and important, too, because of their relation to the basic law of the commonwealth. The first constitution of Illinois was that of 1818. Thirty years later we adopted a second constitution. In 1862 a constitutional convention was called, and a third constitution was submitted to the people and was rejected. Eight years later, we adopted the present constitution of Illinois, under which the government of the state has been conducted for forty-three years.

"Under our present constitution it is exceedingly difficult to make an amendment to the constitution. In the first place, two-thirds of the members of the Legislature must agree upon a resolution to be submitted. In the second place, it requires, not a majority of those vot-

ing on the proposition, but a majority of those voting at the election to adopt the amendment. But the restriction which brings about the conflict between the positions which these gentlemen are going to talk about this afternoon, is the restriction in the amending clause which forbids the Legislature to propose amendments to more than one article at a time. They can submit but one article for amendment at each session of the Legislature, and one article not oftener than once in four years. The three amendments to be talked about this afternoon are amendments to different articles of the constitution. No two of them can be submitted. Which one shall be submitted? That is the proposition these gentlemen are going to present to you.

"The fourth subject, 'The Constitutional Convention,' is not in conflict with the amendments to be submitted, because a resolution calling a constitutional convention can be submitted along with the resolution submitting an amendment.

"The first speaker, Mr. George E. Cole, will talk to you upon the initiative and referendum amendments."

INITIATIVE AND REFERENDUM

Mr. George E. Cole

"Mr. Chairman and Fellow Members of the City Club: I am going to make you easy on one point: I will not talk fifteen minutes. I do not propose to talk of the ethics of the initiative and referendum amendment. I will state the case; I will give the gentlemen that are to follow me something to shoot at.

"In 1901, the Legislature passed what is called the Public Policy Act. That was given as a sop to public sentiment, a sop to the people who demand a part in the making of their own laws. The first opportunity under that Public Policy Act for the people to act and vote was in 1902, when they instructed the Legislature, by vote of three and a half to one, to grant them an amendment to the constitution for the initiative and referendum. The Legislature of 1903 paid no attention to the mandate, and the subject apparently died out—I say apparently died out because in reality it has been merely slumbering. Under the surface, ready for anything to fan it to a flame, the sentiment in favor of the initiative and referendum has grown in intensity until, with the expose of the Legislature of 1910, with the jack-pot proposition and Lorimerism, it has at last burst forth.

The Peoria Conference

The direct result of that expose was a Peoria conference participated in by representative men all over the state, in which was discussed the question: What shall we do to be saved? After two days' talk we concluded we ought to ask for three laws: first, a state-wide civil service law; second, a corrupt practices law—which were to be legislative enactments; the third, demanding initiative and referendum as a constitutional amendment.

The Defeat of 1911

"A committee (on which I had the honor to serve) was appointed to put this proposed amendment before the people. We went before the people; we filed with the Legislature a petition of over 130,000 signatures; and at the elec-

tion in 1910, the people again cast an affirmative vote of three and a half to one demanding the initiative and referendum as a constitutional amendment. The bill was introduced, discussed, whipped into shape in the Senate under what is called 'The Senate Resolution No. 15,' and passed the Senate unanimously.

"In the spring of 1911 the bill came to a vote in the house, and we received 94 affirmative votes—8 short of the necessary two-thirds majority to make it a law, or to put it before the people for their consideration. It was charged at the time that if the interests—and I am not alleging any moral turpitude—had kept their hands off and the Legislature had been left to carry out its own will, the amendment would have carried. It was lost by the absentees who were pledged to the initiative and referendum, but did not show up when the vote was taken.

Initiative and Referendum League

"After the adjournment of the Legislature we reformed our lines, forming anew the Initiative and Referendum League, of which I have the honor to be president. We discussed the matter of amendment pretty thoroughly, and finally agreed that we would stand for the Senate Resolution No. 15, the most conservative amendment, probably, to be offered to the people which would still preserve the real ethics of the initiative and referendum.

"We put that amendment before a large number of organizations throughout the state, and in reply received a great many confirmations of our views. The Illinois Federation of Labor, at its meeting of 1912, after two days discussion, unanimously adopted the initiative and referendum amendment—the amendment now before the Legislature—confirming their action of 1912 at their annual convention in 1913. The City Federation of Labor, the Chicago Federation of Labor, the State Miners' Federation, the State Grange—all have unanimously and officially backed up the Initiative and Referendum League in its demand that this Legislature should give Illinois the initiative and referendum amendment.

Demands of the League

"The initiative and referendum, as you all know, was a permanent plank in the Democratic platform, and, in fact, Governor Dunne made his campaign for the nomination and election on the initiative and referendum proposition. It was also a prominent plank in the Progressive platform. Those two parties polled two-thirds and maybe three-quarters, of the vote of the state last November.

"Addressing the committee of the Senate in charge of the matter, I made the statement in regard to the Democrats and Progressives week before last in practically the same words as I have made it here. I said to them: 'Gentlemen, on the strength of the fact that I represent, for the time being, the sentiment of so many people in Illinois, I demand that this committee report out the initiative and referendum bill to the Senate, and that it ask a quick vote on the question, putting it up to a third reading vote regardless of any other amendment under consideration.'

"I have said this much as the representative of the Initiative and Referendum League. I have said it officially, but individually I would like to say one thing more. I have studied the situation

thoroughly, and I have been of the opinion ever since 1902 that in order to get out of our difficulties and bring the city and state into harmony, we must have a constitutional convention.

Minority Representation vs. Legislative Districts

"I want to say there is another amendment, which, next to the initiative and referendum, is probably the most important matter to be brought before the people, and that is to wipe out minority representation in the state of Illinois and give us legislative districts. That will be an amendment to Article 4, which is the same article that the initiative and referendum will amend. These questions can both be submitted to the people at once.

"Let this session of the Legislature offer to the people the amendment to Article 4, giving us the initiative and referendum and 153 legislative districts, instead of this minority representation, and then let them call a constitutional convention. The first will restore something that we have not had in a generation in Illinois, which is representative government, and the second will give absolutely good government, which necessarily will give Chicago complete home rule." (Applause.)

THE TAX REFORM AMENDMENT

CHAIRMAN MOULTON—"There are those who believe that the reformation of the taxing system is of more importance than the amendment spoken of by Mr. Cole. Mr. B. A. Eckhart will speak in behalf of the tax reform amendment."

Mr. B. A. Eckhart

"Gentlemen of the City Club: That the revenue laws of our great commonwealth are in crying need of revision is, among intelligent men, no longer a debatable question. That no adequate tax reform can be accomplished except by first procuring an amendment to the present state constitution is likewise almost universally conceded. It is scarcely possible to overstate the importance of securing immediate action by our Legislature. That this is not only practicable but that every consideration of public policy unites to urge

it, I shall try to show in a moment.

Urgent Need of Tax Reform

"Permit me first to recall to your minds just what the proposition is. I can do no better than to quote a paragraph from a recent address of Mr. John P. Wilson of this city, whose expert knowledge, the result of close and exhaustive study of the problem, has made him an authority with perhaps no equal in the state. In explaining the urgent need of tax reform he said:

It is a fundamental requirement of a satisfactory taxing system that if perfectly administered it should operate equally upon individuals, and impose uniform burdens upon property of the same class without regard to its ownership. It is also essential to the welfare of the community that the provisions of a revenue law should be such that the assessing officer can keep his official oath without bringing disaster upon the community; and that every citizen should be able to make an honest return under oath of all his property, without

being obliged to change his investments, or his place of residence. These conditions do not exist under the revenue system in force in the state of Illinois.

"The constitution of the state of Illinois adopted in 1870 and under which we are at present governed, provides:

The General Assembly shall provide such revenue as may be needful by levying a tax by valuation so that every person and corporation shall pay a tax in proportion of the value of his, her, or its property.

"In order to obey this constitutional limitation the taxation of all classes of property must be on an absolutely uniform basis. Our experience since 1870, and even before that time under the constitution provisions of the early fundamental laws, has demonstrated that no intelligent and scientific method of classifying property for purposes of taxation is possible under our constitution as it now reads. As everyone knows, the present system as it has been, and under the laws is bound to be administered, furnishes a reward to perjurers and imposes heavy and unjust penalties upon honest men.

Findings of Special Tax Commission

"These laws defeat the very purposes for which they are enacted, for they induce men of large property, who should willingly bear their fair share of the public burdens, to escape entirely from the payment of taxes by either changing their residences to other cities, or successfully concealing their property after first converting it into the form of intangible securities. No better catalogue can be made of the evils which the attempt to work out the present revenue laws has brought prominently to light than to summarize the findings contained in the excellent report of the Special Tax Commission appointed by Governor Deneen under Act of the 46th General Assembly, approved June 9, 1909. That very able and public spirited commission, after exhaustive and painstaking study, brought out clearly:

"*First*—The assessed valuation of property upon which taxes are imposed is really but a very small part of the true value of the tangible, taxable property in the state; and the result of such under-assessments is to increase the nominal rate of taxation, while at the same time it produces a distinct inequality in assessment of different classes

of property, and a more flagrant injustice, if possible, in causing inequality in different pieces of property of the same kind owned by different persons.

"*Second*—Most serious injustices and inequalities grow out of the assessment of intangible property, such as moneys, credits, mortgages, stocks and bonds, etc., for since these are easily transferred and readily concealed, the assessment of them must depend almost entirely upon voluntary statements made to the assessor by the owner. And should such intangible property be assessed on the same basis as tangible property and at the same rates as now levied it would amount to a wholly unjust confiscation of one-fourth to one-half of the total income to the owner of such property, much of which brings to the owners, especially the small owners who buy and should buy only the safest form of bond, but a very small income at best.

Unfair Distribution of the Burden of Taxes

"And even now in a limited number of cases, conscientious people who scrupulously obey the letter of the law are punished to an outrageous extent by being compelled to pay extortionate taxes, which means that they bear their neighbors' burdens as well as their own. But more often the intangible properties escape taxation altogether and we have either a high rate which is burdensome to the visible properties, such as real estate, or we receive inadequate revenue for the operation of our governments, crippling and hampering them in the proper performances of their functions necessary to the welfare and happiness of the people of the city and state.

"A comparison with other commonwealths, New York, for example, which does not suffer from constitutional restrictions, makes this very plain in a concrete way; for while Illinois has more than 61 per cent of the population of New York state, she receives less than 32 per cent of New York's revenues for state purposes.

New Revenue Laws Needed

"It has been urged with great force that certain intangible property, such as notes and credits, are not in any real sense property which should be taxed, but are simply a series of claims or obligations for which property of a tangible

nature is security; and as this latter property has already been taxed, an attempt to tax the intangible would involve double taxation of the same property, and in some cases a three or fourfold taxation of that property; certainly no one pretends to defend this result.

"The effect of taxing credits has been, not only in this state, but in every state where it has been tried, productive of serious evils from the standpoint of securing revenue. It is not only a sad failure as a money getter, but is alarmingly disastrous in its workings upon the morals of the community in that it is destructive of that respect for the law which is an indispensable attribute of good citizenship and without which popular government cannot long endure.

"The practical result is well known to officials, to the courts, and to the public, viz, a general systematic and continuous evasion of the terms of the revenue laws has been found absolutely necessary in their administration in order that the laws might be enforced in part, for no one yet has been bold enough to say that the laws have been found either just in principle or wholly enforceable as written.

"Perhaps in the early history of the state and with a small and rural population where the property was visible and each man's wealth known to every citizen, the provisions of the revenue laws could be worked, at least to some extent, by those entrusted with their enforcement, though they never were defensible in theory even in the days of their infancy. As our state has grown in population and wealth, and that wealth has become more diversified in kind, a method of taxation once barely tolerable rapidly became insufferable. The need of reform was early recognized and agitation and activities toward that end have been persistent for more than a quarter of a century, for, in 1885, a special tax commission was appointed by Governor Oglesby. This commission, of which the Hon. Milton Hay was chairman, after a very thorough investigation, reported on March 1, 1886, the many defects which they found in the existing law, commenting upon the inadequacies of the methods then in vogue to discover and estimate the value of the growing interests which were the natural result

of the progress of our people, of the unprecedented advance in commerce, the development of the natural resources of a rich country through modern industry, of invention, and the wonderful progress in the applied sciences and industrial arts.

The Remedy—Amend the Constitution

"The situation cannot be remedied either by enforcing the laws as they are or by repealing the present statutes and re-enacting new ones, because any substitute laws must comply with the constitutional limitations of that rather ancient, if sacred, document. The only remedy is a constitutional amendment which will remove some of the restrictions now placed on the General Assembly and make possible the enactment of statutory changes which the present demands and which the future may suggest.

"On January 29, of this year, Mr. Juul offered in Springfield Senate Resolution No. 6, which was referred to the Committee on Constitutional Amendments. This resolution was a proposal that Article 6 of the constitution of the state be amended by adding thereto a section to be numbered and known as Section No. 14, and reading as follows:

SECTION 14—From and after the date when this Section shall be in force the powers of the General Assembly over the subject matter of the taxation of personal property shall be as complete and unrestricted as they would be if sections 1, 3, 9, and 10 of this article of the constitution did not exist; provided, however, that any tax levied upon personal property must be uniform as to persons and property of the same class within the jurisdiction of the body imposing the same, and all exemptions from taxation shall be by general law and shall be revocable by the General Assembly at any time.

"It was further resolved that the proposed amendment be submitted to the people of the state for adoption or rejection at the next election of members of the General Assembly. Should this amendment to the constitution be finally adopted, the constitution will then practically give the Legislature authority to levy taxes upon the personal property owned within the state, according to any principle which may seem to the Legislature wise and proper. In other words, it will give them a free hand where now their hands are tied.

Constitution Too Well Protected Against Hasty Amendment

"We are all familiar with the difficulties which lie in the way of amending the constitution of Illinois. Those wise statesmen who drew the constitution in 1870 were so fearful that the people who came after them might change it and thereby bring disaster upon the state that they contrived to make amendment so difficult to procure that in all these years not even good reforms and needed reforms involving an amendment could be brought about. First of all the consent must be given by two-thirds of all the members elected to the Legislature, which means two-thirds of those elected to the House of Representatives as well as those elected to the state Senate; then the amendment must be submitted to a general election held in the state and must procure the majority of all the votes cast at that election.

The People Favor an Amendment

"On November 5, 1912, under the Public Policy Act, and as a proposed question of public policy, the following proposition couched in general language was submitted to the people of the state of Illinois:

Shall the next General Assembly (in order that the people may be relieved of a system of taxation which places a comparatively heavier burden upon the poor man than upon his wealthy neighbor, which is unjust to all who fall under the full force of its operation and which places a premium upon dishonesty) submit to the voters of the state of Illinois at the next following state election an amendment to the state constitution providing for the classification of property for purposes of taxation with taxes uniform as to each class within the jurisdiction levying the same?

"The vote upon this question was 541,189 in favor of it and but 187,467 against it.

The adoption of the proposed amendment is today the most important matter before the people of this state. Its importance is immediate and pressing. It is paramount to that of any other issue for it affects at once any individual who possesses any property whatsoever.

"The beneficent effect of tax reform in this state should and will be immediately felt by every school, hospital, reformatory, and penal institution, park, boulevard, and street, and by every municipality and taxing body within the

state. The agricultural, industrial, financial, and governmental progress of the state will be vitally influenced for good immediately upon the accomplishment of this reform.

As the life of the citizen becomes more complicated, so the governments of the state and city become more complex and expensive. In order that the necessary increase in revenue may be secured with the least burden upon the taxpayers, it is essential that the assessment and the levying of taxes be based upon laws which are equitable and just and which admit of impartial, exact and full enforcement. The need for more funds has increased at an alarming rate in this state, and especially in this city, and in every municipal body whose activities must be carried on from the public funds raised by taxation. The means of securing these increased revenues are inadequate, obsolete, unjust, and impracticable. There is a known workable method by which the remedy can be procured. The people by their mandate expressed their desire in the only way it can be expressed under the constitution and laws that the reform be brought about. The duty of the Legislature is plain, the emergency exists, the way for relief is open. It has existed for several decades. It is no passing fancy, no fad for a political fanatic, but is the product of mature wisdom, born of a long and sad experience, too long patiently endured and now no longer endurable. Not only have the masses of the people spoken in an unmistakable way by giving an affirmative vote with the largest majority that any proposition ever received in the state under the Public Policy Act, but a long list of organizations comprised of citizens of varied and wide interests throughout the state have endorsed the amendment and urged its adoption. It has received the indorsement of such organizations as the Illinois Commercial Federation, composed of commercial clubs and chambers of commerce of more than 100 cities in the state, the Illinois Farmers' Institute, the Chicago Association of Commerce, Chicago Board of Trade, the Industrial Club, the Northwest Side Association, the Illinois Manufacturers' Association, the Civic Federation of Chicago, the Citizens Association, the Rockford Real Estate Board, and many others.

"The public press, that barometer of public opinion, is for it; the great majority of the leading papers of this city editorially have strongly advocated the adoption of this tax amendment in preference to any other constitutional change, and in that position have had the support of the leading dailies throughout the state.

"The Legislature can and should obey.

This very week, in carrying out the advisory primary vote on United States senator, our General Assembly has after many weeks of dead lock established a precedent, a novel one to be sure, of giving heed to the expressed will of the people. Lastly the tax reform question is not a partisan one, but has had and should have the support of the voters and leaders of all parties."

AMENDMENT TO AMENDING CLAUSE

CHAIRMAN MOULTON — "These three amendments are not all the amendments submitted to the Legislature; there are eight or nine. The Bar Association believes that all of these amendments will kill each other, and the only proposition to consider is the amending of the amending clause. Mr. Edgar B. Tolman will present this side of the question."

Mr. Edgar B. Tolman

"Mr. Chairman and Gentlemen of the City Club: I would like to have you understand how important it is that each one of these amendments should pass; it demonstrates my proposition before I begin.

"Now, there are certain fundamentals in regard to constitutions that we ought to bear in mind before we make up our mind on propositions of this sort. One has been referred to. We have been told that it is almost impossible to amend this constitution. That is so, and it ought to be so. A constitution should be stable and should be fixed; it ought not to be possible to change it lightly and easily. It ought to be changed only under pressure of great necessity, and there are several very convincing reasons why that is so.

A Constitution Should Be Amended Only With Difficulty

"A constitution in the first place fixes a power on the Legislature in regard to legislation, and enumerates the subjects on which it may legislate, and the method in which it may legislate. A constitution is expressed in words, and these words, however carefully you may arrange them, always are open to some question of doubt as to precisely what

they mean, and every written instrument at some time or other has to go through the process of construction, and you do not know what it means, however clearly it may be expressed, until it has been determined by the court of last resort precisely what the meaning is. That is something that is simply inherent in the infirmities of written speech.

"You cannot know what a constitution is until it has been construed by the supreme court. It takes about twenty years to find out what a constitution means. New questions are arising under it, the complexity and multiplicity of which are limited only by the circumstances which arise and the ingenuity of the men who raise these questions, and if you amend your constitution annually you would never know what it meant. So the proposition is, that a constitution in order to be stable should be amended only with difficulty, and then only because of some compelling necessity.

Specific Amendment Preferable to General Revision

"The next proposition is that the changes ought to be as limited as possible, and only in those particulars where the necessity is apparent and compelling. It is clear to my mind that specific amendment is infinitely preferable to general revision. This is so, because, if you now call a constitutional convention and prepare an entirely new instrument from beginning to end, you would still have the long process of legal construction to go through before you would know exactly what is meant, and, therefore, we contend that whatever amendment is made it should be a specific amendment, preserving what has been

found good, preserving all that has not been found to be objectionable, and making the least possible change in the language and form of the instrument.

"Now, there is one other objection to general revision by a constitutional amendment, and that is, there are so many subjects upon which people differ that if you put into one instrument provisions in regard to all these debatable subjects you invite the opposition of each one of the contending factions. The chances of getting through a general constitution which contains in it a multiplicity of points of controversy are much less than to amend by the method of specific amendment. By specific action an amendment may be rejected in part and adopted in part, so that on the whole the will of the majority may be carried out; whereas a general constitution on the other hand may be entirely defeated by the cumulative action of those who oppose specific provisions in it.

"For example, our city charter which we attempted to revise by a charter convention, failed of adoption because so many people objected to different small parts of it; thus the great work went for naught. Constitutions have failed for similar reasons.

The Amending Clause

"I admit, for the purpose of shortening the argument, that it is extremely important to pass some sort of constitutional amendment in regard to the initiative and referendum. I believe, however, that you should look at your initiative and referendum, and see what kind of an initiative and referendum it is, before you say you are in favor of it. Let us admit that some kind of constitutional amendment for the initiative and referendum is necessary. I firmly believe that an amendment of the revenue clause of the constitution is absolutely necessary. I am convinced there are other very important parts of the constitution that ought to be amended. It simply leaves the proposition that if we are going to proceed to amend the constitution specifically and conservatively, we should modify our amending clause and permit more than one amendment to be made at one time. The proponents of these different amendments now before the Legislature, of which only one can

be made, are simply killing one another's chances by their zeal for their own particular amendment, as they have done for years past, and will continue to do. If you keep your present plan of only one article to be amended at a time, your amendments will continue to fall between two stools.

Increase Facility of Amendment

"As a practical proposition there is no other way that you can accomplish these needed reforms than by increasing the facility of amendments. Now, it may be said that there is not very much difference between the plan which I propose of taking off the limit of the number of articles to be amended and holding a constitutional convention. Apart from the question of advisability, there is, in case we should take the limit off the number of articles to be amended, a very practical safeguard, since the other provisions of the constitution provide that each of the specific amendments that are offered shall receive a proportion of the majority of both houses, and then when submitted must receive an affirmative vote of those voting. It is plainly seen that an overwhelming number of amendments would not be submitted if the method which I advocate is adopted, for the reason that you cannot get the Senate and House to agree on a great number of subjects. Like every other legislative body, you will find you can get them to agree only on those things which are of compelling and convincing importance.

"The consideration which appears to me most weighty of all, from a practical viewpoint, is that by this method you have a chance to bring before the people all the questions that should go before them; we cannot do this now on account of the present limit and consequent controversies as to which is the most important question. Then, too, you also have the advantage that by vote you can select the amendments which you want, and put them into effect, rejecting those that you do not want; whereas, by a constitutional convention process, you must stand or fall by the instrument as an entirety. Therefore, it seems to me that for the purpose of affording a workable plan we ought to stop our controversy as to which is the most important

of these many important subjects, and get several of them before the Legislature after we have taken off temporarily

the restriction which now exists as to amendment."

A CONSTITUTIONAL CONVENTION

CHAIRMAN MOULTON — "Professor Dodd, of the University of Illinois, believes the only solution of all these difficulties is a constitutional convention. I introduce to you Professor W. F. Dodd."

Professor W. F. Dodd

"I am in agreement with Major Tolman, that a constitutional convention should not be called lightly. I feel very strongly that we should not have a constitutional convention merely for the sake of having one; but we must consider, not only the proposed constitutional changes which have been discussed here this afternoon, but also numerous other constitutional changes which demand attention. (I shall refer to these constitutional changes later on.) There is some question, too, as to whether the constitutional changes can be made by means of the method of individual amendment.

"Perhaps I should say, first of all, as Mr. Moulton has already said, that the proposal for a constitutional convention does not necessarily conflict with any one of the other proposals for specific amendment. Only one of these three proposed amendments can be submitted, but any one of them can be submitted and a constitutional convention can be called at the same time. However, there is this point to be considered, that if a constitutional convention should be called, or if it should be thought advisable to call a constitutional convention at this session of the Legislature of this General Assembly, it would have some tendency to cause the members of the Legislature to postpone the other specific questions, and would, to some extent, perhaps defeat the specific amendments, so that there is a possibility of conflict here, although theoretically there is not.

Dead-locking of Good Amendments

"Now, the point which Major Tolman has just spoken of, the likelihood of the initiative and referendum and the tax amendment killing off each other, as they did in the last General Assembly,

is a rather great one at the present time. Personally I am inclined to think that the possibility of their killing off the proposal for the amendment of the amending clause is perhaps equally as great, because those in favor of the initiative and referendum are going to be convinced pretty thoroughly that their proposal is more important than the proposed method of changing the constitution later. We are going to have a situation in which the advocates of each proposal will be of the notion that the amendment of the amending clause is a good thing, but that it should come just after their own proposal has been adopted. Such is the situation we have had in this state during the past ten years. Everybody has been in favor of amending the amending clause, but different groups in the community have in one case or another been in favor of something else first. So we have encountered very great difficulty in the matter of changing the amending clause, which I agree is distinctly a good thing to be adopted or to have proposed by the Legislature for popular adoption.

A Possible Method of Amending the Amending Clause

"Regarding the change in the amending clause, I am not in entire agreement with the form of the proposal of the Chicago Bar Association. I want to suggest one or two difficulties which would present themselves in the way of getting the proposed amendment through, should it be proposed by the Legislature of Illinois.

The most important difficulty, I think, is that your proposed amendment must obtain a majority of all those voting at the election, and while a majority of those voting at the election can be interested in a rather definite way in a concrete proposition, it is a much more difficult thing to interest them in a proposition which merely has a bearing on the later adoption of some other proposition. In my opinion the proposed

amendment of the Chicago Bar Association, if it were put before the people, could only be carried after a very hard and expensive campaign.

"I very much doubt whether in its present form the proposed amendment of the Chicago Bar Association could be carried at all in that way. I do believe, however, that if it were joined with the proposed initiative and referendum constitutional amendment it might be possible to unite a sufficient number of people back of it to carry it through; that is, by a possible compromise between those who think the initiative and referendum is the only proper thing and those who think that the amendment to the amending clause should have first consideration.

"Now, I think I should be willing to agree with Major Tolman that if we had a satisfactory clause for the amendment of the constitution we can go along for a good while without the need of a constitutional convention. I think that in the long run we shall need such a convention, but I do have a feeling that an amending clause which would enable us to adopt with some degree of ease the most important proposals which are now before the people would solve a very great part of the difficulty.

Desirability of a Constitutional Convention

"Now, some suggestions as to the desirability of a constitutional convention or the need of a constitutional convention. Even if the amending clause be altered in this liberal respect—that is, so as to permit the proposal of constitutional amendments and their adoption without the present difficulty—we yet have, not only the tax amendment proposal, not only the proposal for the initiative and referendum, not only the proposal to change the amending clause, but also other proposals, such as the proposal for the short ballot, the proposal for the abolition of the cumulative voting; we have proposals which it would be necessary to get through in order to bring about consolidation of governmental areas in the city of Chicago; we have proposals regarding the debt limit; we have proposals of the city handling its traction problem in Chicago; we have the question of excess condemnation by cities, and, possibly, before a great length of time, we shall have more actively pre-

sented the question of woman suffrage. The proposals for changing the constitution are very numerous, and quite a large number of them are proposals with respect to which most of us perhaps would agree that the constitution ought to be changed.

"To accomplish these changes by means of individual amendments, of course, under the present constitution, is absolutely impracticable with the present limitations. Your possibility of getting through an amending clause which will permit the accomplishment of those purposes is very problematical, and there is some question as to whether, with the constitutional problems we have facing us, the process of separate amendments will accomplish the greatest results.

"I fully agree with Major Tolman that it is not desirable to change the text of the constitution any more than is necessary, but really we have conditions which seem to demand a change of word and series or provisions of the constitution, and there is quite a decided possibility that a constitutional convention soon will be, if it is not already, the most satisfactory method of accomplishing this purpose.

The Constitutional Convention a Last Resort

"Now, just a moment regarding the possibilities of a constitutional convention being called. As you know, it would take more than two years to assemble a constitutional convention if it were called by this General Assembly—the Legislature would merely submit the question as to whether the constitutional convention were desired, and the vote of the people would not come until November, 1914. On the whole, I think at present there is not a great possibility of the present General Assembly submitting such a question, because of the conflict between the proposed individual amendments. If each one shows its inability to get through because of the others, then, and not till then, will the General Assembly come to the feeling that a constitutional convention is necessary.

"Now, one of the most serious objections to the constitutional convention, at least on the part of Chicago people, I think—and I used to live in Chicago myself—is that of a fear of the reduc-

tion of Chicago's and Cook County's representation in the Legislature—that is one of the serious questions. However, there seems to be no apparent intention on the part of the present General Assembly to redistrict the state. Although it is commanded to do this by the constitution, there is no way of compelling it to do so, and so long as the redistricting is not put through, you have an automatic limitation of Chicago below any limitation that any convention would seek to impose. Of course, if the General Assembly continues in its attitude, you will have a very great inequality.

"As to the possibility of getting a complete constitution through if the convention should be assembled and the constitution should be proposed by the convention, Major Tolman has suggested that it would be much more difficult to adopt a constitution, a complete instrument, than it would be to adopt a single amendment, such as the change of the amending clause proposed at present. (As far as the present is concerned, a change of the amending clause I think almost impossible unless it is tied up with the initiative.) If a constitutional convention were assembled, however, and if a constitution were submitted by that convention, you would, of course, so far as the main body of the instrument is concerned, have a combination of all those opposed to it, but you would, on the other hand, have a union of the others in favor of the various proposals. Not only that, but the convention would probably do what the convention of 1870 did, submit some of the most controverted points as separate proposals, apart from the main constitution.

"I do not think that it is at all desirable to approach these questions in the spirit of controversy. The desirability of a constitutional convention at present is primarily based on what seems to be the impossibility of accomplishing results that we need to accomplish by any other method. If we can accomplish those results by an amending clause which has a chance of getting through—that is, if we can give the amending clause the right of way and have proposed an amending clause that has a chance of getting adopted by the people—I should be in favor of that plan; but, personally, unless the attitude of those

advocating specific amendments changes very materially, it seems to me that we are simply going to have a continuance of the present deadlock." (Applause.)

JUDGE FOSTER—"I am one of those who believe thoroughly in the desirability of amending the amending clause of the constitution, and I concur in the remarks of Major Tolman. I served on the committee of the Bar Association that first had to do with this proposed amendment to the amending clause, and I think I may say without betraying any confidence that it was the unanimous opinion of the committee that the amending clause required amendment for more than one object. It has already appeared in this discussion that the amending clause as it now reads provides that no amendment can be reached, or can even be submitted to the people for their approval, without having first received the affirmative vote of two-thirds of each house—not merely two-thirds of those present and voting, but two-thirds of all members elected to the House and all members elected to the Senate. Now, it can be demonstrated with mathematical certainty that less than one-third of either house can, under those circumstances, effectually block any desired amendment of the constitution.

As Mr. Cole says, one of the amendments that is most desired in this state, aiming at, perhaps, the most serious evil under our present system, is the amendment doing away with minority representation in this state. To my mind it is utterly impossible ever to get through any amendment of the constitution dealing with that proposition so long as the amending clause contains, as it now does, a provision requiring two-thirds of the House of Representatives to vote affirmatively in favor of such change, because at least one-third of the House always owes its election to the very iniquitous system which we are attacking.

"I have no sympathy with the first part of Major Tolman's address. It represents an ultra-conservative view. It is one that has been adopted by the Bar Association, I am sorry to say, which opposes making our constitution more responsive to the needs of the people. The very fact that the initiative and ref-

erendum has carried by such a large majority in this state shows that the people in this state want their constitution more responsive to the needs of the people, and I for one do not believe that the wishes of the majority of the voters of the state of Illinois should be blocked by one-third of the members of the House of Representatives. If we are checked, let the check come from the people themselves. I have yet to hear any argument advanced which justifies the idea that we are opening the doors wide when we provide for a majority vote of the House and a majority vote of the Senate shall be sufficient to submit to the people for their approval a desired amendment. Therefore we incorporated in the amending clause which we submitted to the Bar Association, and which was not adopted, the provision that the amending clause should be so amended that in the first place it only required a majority of each house to submit the proposition, and then that it should be voted upon, as at present, and receive the approval of a majority of all the voters of the state before it should become a part of the constitution.

"I heartily concur with the idea that the limitation as to the number of amendments should be done away with." (Applause.)

MR. VROOMAN—"The major part of the argument as brought forth by the different speakers I heartily agree with. Those who are advocating the amendment of the revenue clause have presented some very sound argument with which I am heartily in accord. There is no question in my mind that practically everybody in this state recognizes the fact that this revenue clause should be amended. That is one of the important things before the people of this state; however, that is far from demonstrating to my satisfaction that this amendment should have the right of way before the people of the state of Illinois at this time. In my opinion their statement of the case is equivalent to taking the ground that the Legislature of this state should be given by the people of this state a blank check signed and to be filled in by the Legislature at its discretion.

"In my opinion it would be wiser, more conservative, and more businesslike

for the people of this state to say: 'We desire to see you fill in the check first, and if, after scrutiny, we are satisfied with the way you fill it in, we will then add our signature.' It seems to me that an argument of this nature ought to appeal to the business men, who primarily are the ones who are backing this proposition. It is contrary to our notion of popular government just to hand over this power to representatives to enact a law which is satisfactory to the legislators, but perhaps is not satisfactory to the people themselves.

"Therefore, I say that this question must be answered by the people who are advocating this plan, who should say to the Legislature: 'Are you or are you not willing to have the people of this state pass upon your work? If the law that you propose is a good one it is to be supposed that they will accept it, and if it is a bad one they should not accept it.'

"I say that any undue haste to get this other before the people before the initiative has been adopted will raise suspicion in the minds of the working people as to the desirability of the bill as now planned.

"As to the advocates of amending the amending clause, I am in hearty agreement with them. I think that it should be amended, but as one of the speakers has indicated, I would add to the suggestion that he has made, making it simply a majority, and I would suggest an addition to that, that we should also allow a popular majority at the polls to either accept or reject the proposition after it has been submitted to the people.

"The history of the referendum in other countries demonstrates that it is a conservative and not a radical proposition. More laws have been lost by referendum vote in Switzerland than have been passed. The referendum is decidedly a conservative proposition, and therefore, Mr. Chairman, I strongly favor it. I also favor the suggestion made by Professor Dodd that if we have an amendment to any clause of the constitution, we shall have the power of initiative on the part of the people." (Applause.)

MR. AUSTIN—"I do not believe the gentlemen here realize what a sentiment there is throughout the state to limit the

representation of Chicago. I have been three times in the Legislature, and the members over the state look at this great city as a menace to the state. They think that at some time the interests of the city and country may conflict. Their idea is to limit the representation of Chicago in the Senate to less than one-third. The gentleman who spoke on the fourth point said they are now refusing to make a change in the representation. It is perfectly true. Shall we be as well off after a constitutional convention as we are today? There are fifty-one districts in the state. Cook County has nineteen and Chicago alone has eighteen. Chicago, in other words, has more than one-third of the representation of the state. That third in either house of the Legislature would be sufficient to prevent the passage over the governor's veto of any act.

"In other words, the county has a great deal more power with nineteen representatives from this county than we would have in a constitutional convention. If you want a constitutional convention, the Chicago representation will be limited to less than one-third. A bargain cannot be made until this point is settled. The men that are in the Legislature may try to say to the Cook County representation: 'If you will have a constitutional convention we will promise not to limit you.' But those men will not be the men in the constitutional convention. Unless you care to have your representation limited, we must not have a constitutional convention.

"Now, the reason that it is necessary for Major Tolman to make the speech he has just made, is the fact that action was not taken two years ago. If it had not been for the conflict two years ago, we should have passed that amending clause.

"I tell you, gentlemen, there are strong men and strong interests against us, and likely as not they will get together again, and two years from now we shall find ourselves in the same box we are in today, unless we amend the clause which will permit two or three amendments at one time." (Applause.)

MR. COOPER—"The state of Ohio has pointed out very clearly to Illinois what ought to be done. There is no legal objection whatever to submitting sepa-

rately every proposal and having the whole work of the constitutional convention made in the form of definite amendments to the constitution, so that the people can vote on every proposition they care to, regardless of their views on the others. In Ohio they submitted fifty-two propositions, and forty-five were carried and the others lost. If we have a constitutional convention there is no reason why we should not submit every question separately. Submit woman suffrage separately, if they want to do that, and let the people vote on that as they see fit. I cannot see what objection can be made to that, and it seems to me that it would simplify the whole situation, because we would get opportunity then to vote our views on all of these propositions now before the people, and if the convention were doing its duty the members should not themselves assume to pass upon these questions, but rather put them in particular form, and then submit them to the people of the state to be ratified. That, it seems to me, is the best way out of the difficulty."

A MEMBER—"The fact that there are more than 500,000 voters who voted for the amendment of the taxing clause has been used as an argument why that should be submitted first. As one of those 500,000 voters, I should like to explain my vote. I am afraid I voted for that clause, or that proposition, very innocently, not knowing that the intent or the effect of voting upon that would be to exclude the policy with regard to the initiative and referendum; and if the question were put to 500,000 people as to whether they should prefer enacting the taxing clause or the initiative and referendum first, I imagine that a large majority of those 500,000 voters would vote for the submission of the initiative and referendum clause first." (Applause.)

MR. LEE—"I am more or less connected with the work of the initiative and referendum organization, and having traveled this state from end to end, I have some information on this particular subject—I say that the people across the state are very desirous for the initiative and referendum. Owing to the limitation, I will make my speech

short, and will say that I enjoyed heartily the speech of Mr. Cole.

"In regard to the tax amendment, we are very sorry that we come in conflict again with the supporters of the tax amendment. We are as much in favor of a tax amendment of the right kind being submitted as are the supporters of the tax amendment. I do not say that the supporters of the initiative and referendum are in accord with the proposed tax amendment, but some action is necessary sooner or later. I will refer to the public policy question submitted by its advocates. I will refer to that clause providing that the burden of taxation may be limited—may be restricted on the poor man, and so forth and so on. I want to call attention to the fact that at our public hearing a few days ago in Springfield those who appeared there in support of the initiative and referendum represented the poor man, and those who appeared in support of the tax amendment represented to a pretty great extent the rich man. Therefore we see there is some conflict.

"Now we hope that it will not narrow down to a fight—to a real death fight between the tax amendment people and the initiative and referendum advocates, because the labor organizations throughout the state of Illinois are going to resist being thrown down. The people are going to insist upon the power of review or power to veto such bills they do not like; and, in my judgment, no tax amendment can get a majority of all the votes cast throughout the state before the initiative and referendum is submitted.

"Now, Mr. Williams made this statement: 'We will look with suspicion upon any amendment which tends to deprive the workers of the initiative and referendum.'

"Mr. Edwin R. Wright said: 'If the Legislature gives an initiative and referendum and denies us everything else we ask for, we will feel more or less grateful, but we will not be grateful if they give us all the other bills we ask and deny the initiative and referendum.'

"In regard to the amending limit, there might be some way out of the difficulty by that course.

"I am not speaking for any particular organization, but I will say that on the whole hearty support will be found for the initiative and referendum amendment that is now before the Legislature. But there is a possibility of changing the amendment and giving the people of Illinois the right of the initiative as it relates to the fundamental law, to the constitution, and that would be a step in the right direction. Even though it would not be a whole loaf, it would be a good slice of bread and butter." (Applause.)

MR. A. P. CANNING—"Mr. Chairman, you may question the right to submit the tax amendment, you may question the right to submit an amendment for the amending clause, but unless you first have that which Mr. Cole has demanded here, you will continue to suffer and encounter the difficulties that we are trying to get away from.

"I am glad Mr. Cole did not request but demanded the initiative and referendum, and it seems to me if we get that notion into our heads we will not be side-tracked by any of these other proposals.

"This is not a question whether the cook shall make custard pie or apple pie, when it is a cake you want, but it is a question of whether you shall have permission to discharge that cook when she refuses to do what you want done, and your wife or yourself can enter the kitchen and make the cake. That is the difficulty in Illinois—it is the difficulty in every state or community where the people have not the right to think for themselves and to put their thoughts on the legislative books.

"There are only two notions respecting government. One is that we elect representatives to think for us, and the other is that we elect and pay them to act for us. You have no power to make them act for you, unless you have the power to do what they refuse to do, and undo what they have attempted to do, and to call them home when they refuse to do that for which they were sent." (Applause.)

THE THEATRICAL ORGANIZATION AND THE AMERICAN DRAMA

The noon-day meeting of the City Club of Chicago, Saturday, April 5, 1913, was presided over by Mr. Harold F. White. Professor Thomas H. Dickinson of the University of Wisconsin, the guest of honor, addressed the club after luncheon on the subject of the American drama. The chairman's introductory address was as follows:

CHAIRMAN WHITE—"Members of the City Club: In glancing at the Year Book I noticed that it was just about seven years ago this week that we had, as guests, Mr. E. H. Sothern and Mr. William Vaughan Moody. On that occasion Mr. Percy MacKaye gave a talk on the relation of the theater to modern life. Mr. Sothern you all know, and Mr. William Vaughan Moody, who has since died, was one of the men who have brought Chicago into prominence as a possible creator of dramatists.

"For some reason or other the public in this country does not seem to concern itself, as a public, with the theater—as theater-goers, yes—but not so far as controlling the theater in the governmental sense. We seem to be away behind other countries in that respect. Even the less enlightened Latin-American countries to the south are apparently much in advance of the United States so far as the control of theatrical and dramatic matters is concerned.

"I noticed in Panama when I was there in January, that the National Theater was one of the buildings which every one was expected to see before leaving town; and on making inquiry I found that as soon as the Republic of Panama was established, in 1904, one of the first things the people undertook in connection with putting up their public building was to install in one wing of the building a national theater. The government sees to it that each year there is an opera season of two or three weeks, when, as I am told, very creditable performances of grand opera are given, and there are also dramatic seasons when foreign companies give performances that are really worth while. In San Jose, the capital of Costa Rica, in the mountains, I found that the Theater Nationale was the one big sight of the city. Everybody said,

'Don't fail to see it; it cost the people of Costa Rica two million colons,' and that seemed a fabulous sum in Costa Rica, even when we found out that the colon was worth only 46 cents. The National Theater there contains the best works of art of the Republic of Costa Rica, in mural decorations and statuary. There, as in Panama, the government sees to it that the people are given an opportunity to hear the best that can be secured, in both opera and drama.

"In this country, although we spend enormous amounts on our school systems, our public parks, our public libraries, many of which are governmental institutions, we don't seem to have taken into consideration that the government, could operate through the theaters for the education, enlightenment and entertainment of the people in only a slightly less degree than they do in their other agencies. Why it is I am not able to say. Possibly the speaker of the day can tell us. The subject is "The Theatrical Organization and an American Drama." I have the pleasure of introducing to you Professor Thomas H. Dickinson, of the Literary Department of the University of Wisconsin." (Applause.)

Professor Thomas H. Dickinson

"Gentlemen, I wish to speak to you for half an hour upon the relationship between theatrical organization as a business matter and American drama. I think it will appear that this is a large question, and, perhaps, a question which is primarily concerned with the nation rather than with a state or a city; but the thesis upon which I begin is that it is in fact a local issue. I find it necessary to base this discussion upon certain assumptions, and these assumptions I will lay down before we begin. I think no one will question any one of these assumptions.

The Business Side of the Drama

"The first assumption will be that the drama is of a very high social, functional value. If I had time I think I could compare the drama with other forms of social art and social appeal and show that the drama, of all these forms, has

the widest possible influence; but let us assume the idea of the social appeal of drama. I am going to make one other assumption, and that is that there is a necessary business aspect to the drama. Whatever you may assume with regard to other arts, I am ready, even though I may be interested primarily in the art side of drama, to assume that the business side of drama is essential, and, referring to the lucid outline given by the speaker who preceded me, one other assumption would be that at the present time our American system seems to be such that we cannot expect the state to interfere in matters of dramatic art. In other words, we must assume that we cannot expect support from the state. And so I stand upon these three assumptions: (1) The social significance of the drama as a function in the state. (2) The fact that drama is a business and must be maintained as a business. (3) The fact that the state cannot enter that business.

Theatrical Organization

"Now, in theatrical organization I think we shall find, if we survey the history of the last few years, that the history of the theater has gone parallel with the history of practically all business and social movements during this period; that is, that the movements of expansion and commercialism and organization, using all these in the best senses of the word, have been quite as strong in the case of the theater as they have been in the case of the newspaper, of manufacture, and the distribution of products of manufacture. We will find that the theater has accompanied all other American institutions in the application of certain business methods to its exploitation. The application of the methods of organization, of centralization, of economy, and of efficiency to production and distribution has been quite as characteristic of the theater during this period as it has been of other forms of activity.

"Now, without attacking in a trite and purely conventional way, the present organization of the theater, and certainly without attacking the commercial aspects of the theater, which to me seem necessary, if it is to be floated as a business organization, let us look at these aspects of the drama, particularly on its theatrical organization side, which indicate that

to-day theatrical organization has gone too far. My theory would be that theatrical organization has now become unwieldy, in that it has become a national rather than a local thing, and that in appealing to the methods of efficiency and economy, organization has operated somewhat against the welfare of the art of drama on its best artistic and social sides. The organization of the theater to-day is inconsistent with the principles of an artistic and a social representation of the life of the people, which, of course, the drama should always be.

How Present System Developed

"Now, in order to show this in a few words, you will permit me to survey hastily the course of progress which brought the organization of the theater to the condition which it occupies at the present time. This method has progressed for about fifty years, and in these fifty years there has taken place that change in theatrical organization which has completely revolutionized the business of a theater, and made the theater the great business of the exploitation of leisure, whereas other businesses are businesses of the exploitation of labor.

"I say that the change began about fifty years ago, and has continued during the last few generations. This change began as a result, I believe, of the increased facilities of transportation and the increased possibilities of communication over the country. It accompanied the broadening of the lines of effort which took place in all business following the drawing together of the different parts of the country by railroads and telegraphs.

"There was a great American man of the theater, a man whose name is still remembered—and that is a peculiar thing, for the theater has a very short memory. That man was Dion Bouccicault. If we wanted to find the man who, of all, brought modern naturalism upon the stage and at the same time brought about a system of modern organization in the theater, we would refer to this man, Dion Bouccicault, the genius organizer of the modern stage. Before Dion Bouccicault's day, theatrical authorship meant penury. After his day, when he had organized the Society of British Authors, theatrical authorship meant affluence. It

is said that James Sheridan Knowles left authorship of successful plays in order to become a secondary school teacher because he couldn't support himself as a playwright.

The Passing of the Stock Company

"Until recent times every theater in the cities and in the provinces was handled as a separate thing. Each theater had its stock company. That stock company was made up of all-around, well-equipped repertoire actors, and only the stars moved from place to place, bringing with them their system of production and their genius in acting. Now, according to that system the art of drama developed to its highest point in history. That system was good for acting, but it was very bad for the returns to the playwright and manager, for these did not have sufficient control of their output to secure returns upon it.

"Dion Bouccicault, seeing that there was not that financial return and public support in the theater commensurate with its popularity, organized his companies in such a way that he had complete control of his companies and managed his productions from a center. He did this by means of a very successful play of his own composition, entitled "Colleen Bawn." He determined that he would keep his hands on this play and secure all the returns from it in London and in the provinces. So he organized in London a company and he sent word to the country managers in the different circuits, 'If you will rent me your theater I will produce this "Colleen Bawn," which is the successful Irish play that all the people desire to see.' The managers answered, 'No, what will we do with our resident stock companies?' Bouccicault responded, 'That is not my business. I have the play that the people want to see and I will supply that play for you if you will open your theater to me.' On account of the popularity of the play the theaters were opened, and thus the old stock system of production was broken down. In England and America the new system of syndicate control was instituted in its stead. Along with the growth of all types of transportation, the growth of organization in the theater, this system of centralized control of companies from a central point in London and New York progressed to its highest possible

extent. And along with the extension of the control of the theater in the center there went forward of course the extension of all the business appurtenances and functions of the theater.

Syndicate Control of Companies and Theaters

"The next and logical step after the organization of traveling companies, each one of which had its own play and carried that play from point to point, was the securing control, not only of the companies, but of the theaters. And that was done by the very simple expedient of booking agents, whereby the theater was compelled to maintain a certain relationship with the central producer, if it was to secure satisfactory productions. So there came the situation whereby the entirety of drama, in its theatrical or produced sense, was gathered together in the great cities of the country, and from the great cities of the country the drama went forth to the provinces and was fed to them by the overlords of the business of the theater.

Business Development at the Expense of Art

"Now, that situation had certain aspects which, excellent in business, for a while produced, as I hope I shall be able to show, certain deleterious effects, both in a business sense and upon art. Let us look first upon the art of the theater and attempt to show how this application of centralized business upon the art of the theater was deleterious. I should say that, first of all, this application of the centralized system to the art of the theater was deleterious to the art of acting. Hastily to refer to some of the effects, I should mention the 'long run,' which is a modern invention. I believe the actors themselves would agree with me when I say that there is not as good an opportunity for the actor to become a master of his art where he plays one part over and over again for forty weeks during a year, and sometimes plays the same play from two to ten years, that there is when the actor belongs to a system which introduces more variety and spontaneity into his work. Then, too, modern methods of control have magnified the star system in its most harmful sense. Now the star had formerly been that great selected actor coming out of Lon-

don or New York whose name, on account of pre-eminent genius, was raised high over the names of other actors. With the multiplication of traveling companies each company had to have its star, and so stars are multiplied a hundred-fold. Furthermore, this method of management magnified the production of the play over the play itself. As a result of the increased business functions of the theater the business-getting features were magnified. Personality of actors was played up; scenery and costumes were made extravagant. Money was used lavishly, often at the expense of art.

De-centralizing Needed

"Not only has this system been hard on the art of the theater, but I believe also that this system of stage production, whereby the production of plays is centralized in New York, may be shown to have had a deleterious effect upon the business of the theater itself. And I will show that under two or three heads. First, it has made New York the center and the heart of the organized theatrical situation in this country. Now, that is an illogical and inartistic and unbusiness-like condition, for I am coming to my thesis, that drama is a local issue. As the theater is organized at present in the United States the center is supported at the expense of the circumference. Theaters are multiplying in the city of New York. We wonder where the money comes from to build those theaters everywhere, not only on the Great White Way, but on every little cross street, a magnificent theater here, a new theater there, a theater for the sophisticated, for children—until we remember that New York takes its toll of practically every legitimate company that travels the country and plays in the best houses. These theaters are supported, not by New York, but by the provinces. Our money is pouring into the city of New York and supporting a lavish era in theater exploitation.

Give Small Towns Better Theatrical Art

"Now, consider a companion fact, and that is a fact which you in Chicago may not appreciate so much as your neighbors; that is the collapse of the one-night stands. The one-night stand, which formerly was an institution of the drama, was a point to which the great star was as likely to, go as he was to go to

Chicago or New York. But the one-night stand has vanished. The little towns of the middle West do not secure today the productions which they secured two years ago; they do not by any means secure productions which they secured five or ten years ago. On the business side that is serious, but the social aspect is emphasized when we notice the kind of art that is coming into these towns as a result of the lack of high class attractions. The taste of the one-night stand is being reduced step by step to the level of the lowest class of productions, in the social and artistic sense, the cheap variety houses and the moving picture shows. The problem of seeking for the people of one-night stands the pabulum of a better theatrical art is one of the vital concerns of society today, for you cannot prostitute the art of a neighborhood or a village without prostituting the very social soul of that people or that neighborhood.

The Drama a Local Issue

"These things are going on, and as we are feeding the centers and drawing sustenance away from the circumference, we are coming face to face with this problem: 'Is theatrical organization after all a national matter or is it a local matter?' And I answer that, as a great political thinker said a few years ago with regard to the tariff, 'The tariff is a local issue'—I answer that the drama is a local and not a national issue.

"Let me illustrate this first by the very practical experience of some practical men. If we wished to prove the point that the drama is a local issue in business we would refer to the most successful type of dramatic business today, and that type of business, which it seems to me is best managed of all, and you may be surprised to hear me say it, is the vaudeville business. I believe the managers of the vaudeville houses are the men who best have their eyes open to the situation, social, esthetic and spiritual, with regard to the drama in America to-day. I could strengthen my position by saying that they are continually attempting to raise the value of their productions; that they are making themselves the hosts for the one act play, which is, I believe, the play of the future; that they are making themselves most thoroughly, and at the same time most

healthfully, democratic. I believe that can be shown. On the business side of the vaudeville theater, it is organized not nationally, but organized by provinces. For some reason vaudeville managers have discovered that it is too unwieldy to manage a circuit upon the basis of the nation, and so they are managing their business upon the basis of narrower circuits, connected, it is true, with a center, but each one relating itself with a particular section of the country.

The Provincial Method

"Now I am here to say that this is the logical thing from a social point of view. After all, it is a question whether America has even yet in a political, industrial, or social sense discovered herself as a whole. What has been discovered is that we are an aggregation of four or five very definite, very concrete little units in this country, and that the middle West, industrially, politically, socially, for instance, is a very concrete and very solid factor of American life, and that it is different from the Pacific slope, that it is different from New England and different from the Empire state.

"That thing which I believe must find an answering chord in the heart of every man, who knows his own part of the country, has been discovered and acted upon by vaudeville managers and their circuits are provincial circuits. It may seem strange that I argue for the provincialism, but in drama I do. Not only do we show by reference to the vaudeville theater that the provincial method of production is a logical one, but also by reference to the condition in Europe, we can show that the provincial method of production is a logical method of the theatrical business. The method of production in Germany and France, the countries which are far in the van, as compared with America, in this matter, is a method of provincial rather than national concern, and it is the province which remains the standard.

"Now let us look over at the art side of this question, for there is always the art side of drama to be considered as well as the business side. I am going to attempt to state why it is that the province is better as the unit of the artistic expression of the nation. Every great art must have behind it a more or less coherent social unit which can be got at.

In other words it must have behind it an apprehensible social unit. And that social unit is more often than not a province rather than a nation. I believe in looking at history.

Provincial Art in History

"You will find that every nation has discovered its own identity in art, in drama, in literature, through the discovery not of itself, but the discovery of its provinces; that if we consider Greece, we see that first Greece discovered herself in Lesbos, and then there was centered up in the northwestern portion of Greece a certain focus of Greek life; then it went down to Athens, and in Attica Greece was represented in a certain unified province. That was true in Rome, where Sicily represented Rome, and where centuries later Florence for a while represented Rome; it was true in France, where for years a little southern portion of France represented France, and France discovered herself through that southern province. That is true in Germany. The condition of the drama is better in Germany than in any other country, and Germany discovered her drama, not by discovery of empire, but by discovery of certain provinces in Bavaria, in Silicia, and finally in Prussia. There certain provinces stick their heads above the wall and secure identification in dramatic art in behalf of the empire.

Where Shall We Look for the American Drama?

"May we not apply something of that kind in America? No country in the world has been as socially complex as America. No country has been as electric and as alert in national and spiritual moods, and no country to-day is as definitely divided in spiritual and social beliefs as America. Where should we look for the American drama? Should we look for a form which covers the entire complex life of the country like a blanket, or may we not look for the American drama or novel in the way we look for our American political ideals, through the focus of a district.

"I am sufficiently enthusiastic to believe that of all the districts in the country that district which is ours is the most genuinely American. I could show how we fuse the American characteristics of the far West with the Americanism of the East. At any rate the problem is ours, and if we face that problem

we will find it leading to two solutions, one of business, and the other of art, both of which point one way. The first will be to discover some way whereby the people may be fed better amusement through a locally controlled organization of the theater; the second will be to show how the people reach self-discovery in any expression in the arts.

"I am speaking partly theoretically, but not quite as theoretically as it might be, because I believe that the movement for the re-organization of the theater is definitely on the way. That movement started in England with the organization of repertory theaters. This repertory movement is significant for two reasons: first, because it provides a means whereby the question of business organization may be settled in the light of the best interests of the art, and, second, because it provides the means whereby the life of the district may be expressed in its dramatic art.

Self-Expression in Dramatic Art for Middle West

"If this will do for England, why will it not do for America, too? If there should arise in the middle West, as I personally believe there is now arising, the expression of a middle West feeling in the form of plays, that feeling should be expressed through the medium of an organized system of theaters managed by middle western men, in middle western cities, without the help of the money or the influence of New York or the rest of the country. (Applause.)

"This means, as I believe, social and artistic self-discovery for this part of the country. I do not believe one is too much of a prophet if he says self-discovery must come sometime, sooner or later. And no nation ever discovers itself until it discovers itself in some form of an attempt at beauty, some form of concrete effort to get artistic order and spiritual dignity. When that effort comes we will have had our first effort towards self-discovery in this part of the country.

"Now, there are two sides to this, as you see. There is one side, organization. I come from a small city, and expect to spend the rest of my life in the small city. I believe in small cities; we have the problem there of making circuits in those small cities in Wisconsin and Illinois, in each of which cities there will be a theater; perhaps we would have eight

or ten theaters in Madison, Racine, La-crosse, some in Oshkosh, and some down in Illinois, in which there would be two or three stock companies, supported by our own people, and playing—this is the important thing—playing our own middle western plays. That is an ideal and a dream, but with this system of reduced organization it is necessary, if the circumference is to be fed as well as the center, and if re-organization is to be carried not only into the business of the theater but into the social expressiveness of the theater, that this ideal should be approximated some time.

Refine and Elevate the Stage—The Next Step

"I don't know whether I am dreaming dreams and seeing too many visions or not, but I believe that in the fact that the people are taking out of the hands of their theaters a good deal of their amusement enterprise, and are saying, 'Go to. Now, we will organize a pageant; we will organize a festival; we will go into the parks and we will take our amusement socially, and we will construct our amusement upon the basis of a sane use of our leisure time—I believe that in this fact that the people themselves are entering the business of amusement in a perfectly innocent and free way, we have an index showing that the theater is not now, as at present organized, satisfying the social and esthetic demands of society. That those demands must be satisfied there is no doubt, for there are in society those expanding, and balancing, and compensating faculties whereby if one of its institutions becomes outworn or inefficient, society itself goes and makes new institutions. And I believe that society is going to demand that we have a reorganization of amusement before long.

"New institutions must be made by the middle West. Finding herself in the advance ground of politics and industries—beautifying cities, building roads, creating harbors, cleaning the congested tenement districts, purifying politics—she comes to the next step. If the next step is not a step for the refined amusement of its people, the elevating tendencies of a social art which may be secured through the social art of the stage, then certainly the logic of human nature has not been gauged aright. This it seems to me is the next logical step in self-discovery on the part of our particular part of the country." (Applause.)

The City Club Bulletin

Published by the CITY CLUB OF CHICAGO, 315 Plymouth Court
DWIGHT L. AKERS, Editor*

VOLUME VI

FRIDAY, MAY 2, 1913

NUMBER 8

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ROMAN GOVERNMENT IN CÆSAR'S TIME WITH MODERN CONTRASTS.

President Abram W. Harris, of Northwestern University, presided at the City Club meeting, Saturday, April 12, 1913. After luncheon, Mr. S. Richard Fuller, of Boston and Paris, the guest of honor, was introduced by the chairman and spoke as follows:

Mr. S. Richard Fuller.

"Mr. President, Gentlemen of the City Club: My subject, which you have courteously invited me to present to you, deals with the Roman government in Cæsar's time. Strictly speaking in Cæsar's time, the city is the state. Rome of antiquity is a city-state, so that Rome's government is the government of an empire in Cæsar's time, as it had been for generations before Cæsar's time. Rome, therefore, a city-state, is not a city, as in modern times we understand the word city.

"I am to show you that this government of Rome is essentially aristocratic, a government of privilege, that it sprang from roots so essentially aristocratic that it could never lose the character of a government of privilege. While, on the other hand, our American government sprang from roots essentially democratic.

*Carlos Colton Daughaday, Acting Editor.

because it was a protest against a government of aristocracy, against a government of privilege.

"As a matter of fact, are we, or are we not reverting to the ancient type of a government essentially aristocratic, while we mark with historic interest the development of that of Rome from aristocracy toward democracy? It was the impulse of democracy that drew the dagger of Brutus from its unwilling scabbard. It is the impulse of aristocracy that approves of absolute municipal government in the city of Washington.

In a few pictures which I shall now draw of Roman life we shall see the government of Rome as it lives its life before us, and be enabled to mark some of the modern contrasts.

The Forum

"In Cæsar's time, as you remember, the Roman Forum is the nerve center of the government, not only of the city, but of the empire. The Forum is the epitome of the Roman city-state. Here, Cicero, Cæsar and Hortensius, great orators of Rome, harangue the people in open air, frequently in clouds of dust and in hot

sun, in the full glare of the mob, its deafening noise, its mocking gibes; with an oratory of strident voice, violent gesture and frantic appeal; unlike the padded softness of the drawing-room eloquence of a modern house of lords. Roman youths with their gay companions, gallantly wearing white togas, smartly ironed and artistically folded and draped about their perfumed forms, saunter through the Forum to salute their friends, to gather the floating gossip of the hour, to weave intrigues of politics or of love, or to learn the latest news from Pompey's pirates, or from Verres, plundering his province of Sicily.

"On temple steps men sleep in the sun in winter, or in the shade of a great column in summer, or play games of chance in the corridors of the basilicas, where to-day you see traced on the pavement the design of their marelle, as boys to-day outline their hop-sotch, or play at dice or back-gammon. Through the Forum pass processions of victory or of death; of personal display or of public banishment. Vercingetorix, conquered in Gaul, is led in chains before Cæsar's triumphal chariot and executed in the Mamertine prison. Cicero is followed through this Forum by twenty thousand knights in mourning, on his way to banishment from the rostra of his many triumphs.

"Here is the pulsing heart of the city and of the great empire; framed in by temples and basilicas, by seats of money changers, by shops of jewels and precious stuffs, and of spices from Arabia; and surmounted by the Temple of Jupiter Capitolinus on the summit of the Tarpean Rock, and by the palaces of the nobles on the Palatine hill. Consuls, senators, tribunes, judges, lawyers, clients, young gallants, nobles of the aristocracy, rich knights and men of affairs, ladies and matrons, young women of attractive beauty, loafers, beggars, slaves—such is the world in the Forum in Cæsar's time, such is the place where Rome's laws are made, and where it is attempted to execute them.

"I am now going to give you a definite picture of those who govern:

Roman Celebrities

"Mark Anthony, tall, handsome, virile, masterful, smooth-faced in the Grecian

fashion, a hercules, he likes to be called, in a chariot drawn by lions, to outstrip the ostentation of other Roman nobles, comes rattling over the pavements of Rome down into the Forum. Cytheris, the actress, is seated at his side: Cytheris, who with her songs and caressing voice enchants the distinguished men of Rome. Cicero once dined with her.

"Cato, the younger, pale, thin, thoughtful, stalks barefoot through the Forum, scorning to wear a shirt, distributing radishes, lettuce and figs, a rebuke to the extravagant licentiousness of these last days of the falling republic, and sits, book in hand, on the temple steps, and refuses to be absent from any session of the Senate, where laws are to be enacted, and discipline is to be ministered, in these anxious hours of tottering Rome.

"Anthony and Cato are of noble families. They are types of the governing class of the city-state. And so also is Clodius, who loves Cæsar's wife. One night the feast of the Bona Dea is celebrated in Cæsar's house. Being a religious feast of women, it is presided over by the consul's wife, Pompeia. Cæsar is not present; for it is a sacrilege for a man to be present at the feast of the Bona Dea. The young, boyish looking noble, Clodius, loves Pompeia, Cæsar's wife. Disguised as a female musician, he is discovered at the feast in Cæsar's house in his clandestine rendezvous, betrayed by his masculine voice. The scandal rends the fashionable world of Rome. The audacious young Clodius is tried before the Senate for the crime of sacrilege against the religion of Rome. The beautiful young Pompeia is divorced, for 'Cæsar's wife must be above suspicion.' But bribery quiets the Senate and the affair is closed. The Senate is susceptible, it appears, to malign influences, as in modern governing bodies.

Patrician Privilege

"It is in a thin Senate, where few are present, that the virtuous Brutus obtains the suspension of a law forbidding certain financial bonds to be issued, by which suspension he is enabled to secure forty-eight per cent per annum for his money lent to the terrorized Salamites, inhabitants of the Island of Cyprus, and to collect the interest by force of the authority of the Senate of Rome. Thus support

in personal money lending ventures is demanded of the government, though the money lender be the noble Brutus.

"Thus the Senate is the 'stronghold of patrician privilege and prejudice.' The laws of Rome require two consuls placed over the Senate as the executive authority; though this authority in Caesar's case is reduced to one, so that the 'Consulate of Julius and of Caesar' becomes a significant witticism among the wags of the Forum. Side by side with Consuls and Senate are the tribunes.

The Tribunes

"Turn now to an actual scene of the life of those days that we may know the power of a tribune. Caesar has crossed the Rubicon. Rome's panic-stricken inhabitants, even the great Pompey in their midst, trample upon each other in their haste to escape. Mettulus, the young tribune, stands before the treasury in the Temple of Saturn to guard against Caesar's plundering the treasury of its sacred gold. With his back against the door, Mettulus forbids Caesar to cross the threshold. But Caesar scornfully exclaims, 'Young man, stand back, or I will strike you down. Deeds with me are easier than words.'

"But to touch with the finger-tip the person of a tribune means death. A tribune is like a living altar moving among men. For twenty generations, since the victory of the plebes over the nobles, this idea of the sacredness of the person of a tribune has been bred into the very bone of the people of Rome. To touch that living altar is a sacrilege; it means confiscation of property, and death to the guilty offender. The tribunes can halt legislation and frustrate with their veto the will of the Senate as effectively as the English House of Lords brought to naught Gladstone's bill of home rule in 1886.

"Such, in brief, are the governing classes; composed of the powerful, rich nobles of an aristocracy by inheritance; and of the equally powerful tribunes raised by riches and political influence from the ranks of the people.

"The class to be governed or exploited, as the case may be, are the slaves, the plebs or the nobles. Slaves, set free, become rich and imitate the manners of their former masters. Slaves

still in bondage are at times as ruthlessly crucified as in Brittany to-day owls are nailed alive on peasant's huts to avert impending evil.

The Slaves of Rome

"From the thousand letters of Cicero we get pictures incidentally of the slaves of Rome. Cicero writes to his friend Marius of the great rejoicing at the inauguration of Pompey's theater. Demetrius, the ex-slave, now Pompey's freedman and personal friend, has become a multi-millionaire. He builds in his friend's name and to his honor, at fabulous cost, a theater of stone, the first in stone Rome has ever known, seating forty thousand people. It is Pompey's theater, never to be forgotten as the spot where Caesar fell. Cicero witnesses the gladiatorial games and fights of men and beasts, lasting five days. 'But what pleasure, he asks, can a man of taste find to see torn in pieces by a ferocious beast a slave more feeble than the beast? Or to see pierced a beautiful animal with the thrust of a spear?'

"Here are two types of the slaves of Rome; the one, Demetrius, freed, and become the friend of Pompey the Great; the other thrown into the arena, his bones to be crunched by the jaws of lions. Cicero's friend Tiro, his secretary, his devoted aid in his literary labors, who lives to be one hundred and ten years old, a freedman, yet once a slave, is another type of the class of slaves in Rome.

"On the steps of the Temple of Castor and Pollux, in Caesar's time, is the greatest slave market in the world. It is greater than that of Delos, described by Strabo, where ten thousand, mostly captives in war, are sold in a single day at prices varying from fifty dollars up. Anthony buys two beautiful boys to give to Cleopatra; bought for twins, though, as in modern horse-trades, the brothers of a closely matched pair, these brother children to grace the Alexandrian palace, prove to have been born in different parts of the world. Yet, Anthony pays four thousand dollars each, eight thousand for the pair.

Cruelty of the Present Contrasted with the Cruelty of Rome

"Rome at Caesar's death is at the mercy of a mob. Dolabella, Cicero's

son-in-law, crucifies dozens of slaves, and of course without trial. Lynch-law has the sanction of antiquity. And slavery in some form seems a constant factor in human life. To-day in the modern streets of Paris old men and consumptive youths, harnessed to carts, like the dogs in Holland, drag loads of greater weight than in America we should think of attaching to the horses of our private carriages. Yet in America, have we not men in mills working up to the full extent of their straining strength, and seven days in the week, thirty-one days in the month, and three hundred and sixty-five days in the year, with never, never a day of rest?

"Cicero despises manual labor. 'There is nothing honorable in a workshop,' he remarks disdainfully. Of course, where work is not honored, the worker despised, the people detested, there men become detestable. Push a man down, stand on his shoulders and keep him down—a 'submerged tenth'—is the logic of events. Plato could not believe a democracy possible, nor could Cicero, because the people were detestable, incapable of asserting their own liberty, much less capable of maintaining the liberty of others, which is the essence of a government of democracy.

Catiline's Program

Catiline knows that the people, degraded either by others or their own loss of dignity, are incapable of governing themselves, and upon this knowledge Catiline strikes for power. Catiline is of the aristocracy, bankrupt, though of noble family; a dashing character of great fascination over women and men; ambitious to become consul, the highest office in the gift of the state, unscrupulous, daring, indifferent to personal discomfort, to hunger or pain; loyal to friends, pitiless to enemies, murdering where advantage is to be gained. The idol of the youth of Rome, Catiline lavishes favors where followers are to be won; for his rich friends he selects their horses; for his profligate devotees, he finds their less lawful pleasures; though his funds are exhausted he still lives in his palace on the Palatine. He is the pride and the hope of the class of licentious rich who have played their last stake and lost. Disparaging women of the nobility, who have

gambled to the last farthing, throw themselves at the feet of their bankrupt lovers. At last ill luck has ham-strung the charger that for generations has borne the rich of Rome rough-shod over the bodies of slaves and of the agonizing poor.

"Fire and sword are the sole promise of regaining power in the hands of the aristocracy. On the ruins of the social fabric, the bankrupt rich will rebuild their fallen fortunes. To burn, pillage, destroy, this is Catiline's program, by which to carry himself to the supreme power of the consul's seat, and his dissolute followers to renewed and heartless luxury.

"Such in Cæsar's time are the human beings—slaves, common people and aristocrats—who are to be governed in order to make secure life and property. But government means money. Revenue must stiffen the sinews of government. Rome seeks revenue from the spoils of war—the safe-bursting and highway-robbery of antiquity, legalized and on a grand scale.

The Revenue System of Rome

"Lucullus, whose name is the symbol of unparalleled luxury, builds villa and gardens on the Pincian hill with gold of foreign conquest over Mithridates, after he has celebrated the most brilliant triumph Rome has ever known, and after he has filled to overflowing the coffers of the state.

"And here is another picture: I have walked over the fields of Tusculum, carpeted with spring flowers. Here stood Cicero's magnificent villa, bought and enlarged at great cost with funds from gifts of grateful clients. Of all his dozen villas, he loved best Tusculum, where his daughter Tullia studied Greek with him and where he found rest and repose. Yet driven from Rome into exile, the government under the malicious intrigue of Clodius burns this villa, and his palace on the Palatine, and confiscates to the treasury of the state nearly a quarter of a million dollars.

"While these foreign and domestic confiscations are sporadic sources of revenue, taxation grinds steadily while men sleep, and grinds some sufferers exceeding small. The bungling system of Roman taxation produces a proletariat that

leaves the farms of Italy barren and sterile wastes; and, at the moment when Cleopatra, Egypt's beautiful young queen of twenty-one is living in oriental splendor in Cæsar's villa on the banks of the Tiber, Rome is crowded with the hungry horde of three hundred and twenty thousand souls, seeking doles of daily bread, and kept from riotous outbreak by the stupefying brutality of the gladiatorial games.

"I asked a farmer in the state of Maine why he did not manure his fields. 'I have no cattle,' 'Why not?' 'I can't sell my beef.' Possibly the beef trust may tell us why. Italy's abandoned, exhausted farms fill Rome in Cæsar's time with a seething mass of worthless imbruted life, ready for the dangers of the demagogue. Are New England farms one day to become a menace to prosperity?"

How Crassus Rose to Power

"May I show you another type of the rulers of Rome in the time of Cæsar? Crassus is a smooth-tongued, polished orator, of the aristocratic class. He persuades the people that all is well. 'Changes are uncertain. What has been always may be trusted to turn out the best for all concerned.' So Rome has no fire brigade. Great tenement houses, like rabbit warrens, swarming with human life, and built to burn, suddenly blaze in terrifying conflagration. Crassus buys the property while it is still burning, at panic prices; extinguishes the flames with his own private fire brigade; and soon possesses the greater part of the territory of the city of Rome; and then becomes the third member of the great triumvirate of 'Cæsar, Pompey, and Crassus.' For he who owns the land must, at least to some extent, exert an influence upon those who occupy the land.

"Thus, gentlemen, I have tried to recall to your minds the Forum as the place of the Roman government; the Senate, the Consuls, and the Tribunes as the governors of the city-state; the slaves, the people, the knights, and the nobility, as the mass of human beings to be governed; and lastly, the foreign conquests, the private confiscations, the public taxation, and the monopoly of land as the sources of the public revenue which

stiffens the sinews and secures the power of the governing class.

Rome—A Government of Privilege

"If this review of Roman government affects your mind as it does mine, you will justify my conclusion that it is essentially a government of privilege. The origin and development of this essential element of the aristocracy, this element of privilege, is simple to understand; and its inevitable consequences are the perfectly logical story of history, from the beginnings of the organization of the primitive city, down to the modern expansion of the great cities of the world. For a moment may I recall to you the successive steps by which government became aristocratic?"

"The tie that first binds together the family is the religion of the domestic altar, the cult or worship of the ancestors. The spirit of the dead father must be fed, hence the sacrifices of food on the family altar. If the food fails, the spirit grows hungry and becomes a malignant, instead of a helpful, protecting, and benign spirit. Hence the necessity of a family priest, of a son to succeed the father. Hence the laws of marriage to secure the birth of a son, to keep up the family altar, and the feeding of the dead ancestor.

Domestic Customs

Next in development comes the group of families, attached to each other by the common tie of the religion of their own particular family, and family altar, for feeding the dead ancestor. Each group has its own divine patron or ancestor and maintains for him the annual sacrifices. Men born without an ancestor, of this religious, sacrificial character, are born without rights, save by adoption. By adoption they become clients, whose duty it is to protect their patron, in return for their personal liberty. The clients will defend the patron if he is brought before the courts. They will never testify against him. In short, the client will treat his patron as would a near relation, almost as would a son. He holds his person, his purse, his honor, at the disposition of his patron. Here is the beginning of an aristocracy of paternalism.

"By the side of the clients are the plebs, without rights, other than those

bestowed by the aristocracy. Conquered captives first become slaves, then clients in the groups of families; finally they become subjects of the city, that is clients of the head of the city. I might say, clients of the priest of the family-city, or city-family. But neither clients nor plebs are citizens, any more than actors. Actors have no civic rights. Clients are only attachments to the city altar. Clients and plebs have no family altar of their own. They can be present at the sacrifices, but can have no share in them. The state or the city is exclusively patrician. The patricians are the city itself. They are the Roman people. Here is the foundation of the monarchy; the religion of the ancestor worship makes the head of the city or of the state its priest, its king. All power, all right, all privilege is centered in this aristocracy. Aristocracy knows no rights beyond the borders of its own class, its own order, its own family, its own altar, where its own ancestor is fed with its own sacrifices, to keep the dead ghost benign, good natured, rather than malicious, if it is suffered to go hungry!

Ignorance the Bulwark of Privilege

"Therefore democracy is the slow emerging in the processes of history of the people, ignored by the religion of the family altar, into personal liberty. This explains, I think, what we have found in the city-state at the time of Cæsar. The people have won rights, many have become rich and powerful, but the idea of a government of privilege persists as stubbornly as the habit of the pointer-dog. It is not until a wider view of religion and a wider view of liberty prevail that democracy can take on substantial and permanent form. The dead hand of the past always checks progress, and is hostile to the higher welfare of mankind.

"Therefore the essence of the Roman government, springing from such sources, is aristocratic and reactionary. It becomes in its development a government of privilege as opposed to liberty; so that long before Cæsar's time it is a government where gold is above the man. Where 'things are in the saddle and ride mankind.' It is a government based upon the policy of ignorance and a policy of poverty. Stupid clods are readily

duped. Ignorance is the bulwark of privilege. Ignorance is the aid-de-camp of the demagogue.

"I believe no one to-day is disposed to question this conclusion. For the most characteristic word of modern times is 'Science.' The one thing we loathe is ignorance. America's characteristic figure is youth with eyes open to the sunrise! Above all things, we want to know. We want to live in the light, escaped from the horrors of darkness. Our characteristic aspiration is truth. To-day, science has no enemy but ignorance.

Intelligence and Progress

"But, gentlemen, I ask you to notice a profound element in our human nature. It is that our intelligence undergoes a change; so that as a matter of fact the philosophers of our twentieth century do not think in the same terms as Plato or Cicero. A part of our being, that is to say our intelligence, undergoes with the evolving centuries a change; the intelligence is always in movement, and nearly always it is a movement of progress. All this is made clear since the confirmation of evolution by Darwin. So that wireless telegraphy, which promises to girdle the globe with its wave-whispers, and the flying ship which may yet cross the Atlantic from sun-dip to sun-dip, do not come to us as surprises, as breaks in the intellectual continuity of the race, but as orderly processes in the evolution of the intelligence of man. Man can no longer govern himself as in Cæsar's time, for he no longer thinks as did Cæsar. His intelligence has evolved to a higher plane, and upon that higher plane, he finds new powers, new possibilities, new opportunities, new duties.

"It is his duty now to wipe out, as effectually as he has done the yellow fever from Panama, that dangerous stupidity of the lowest man, held down in his lowest stage of development, by ignorance, by vice, by poverty, or by other imbruting conditions, a stupidity upon which a democracy can never rest, a stupidity which must ever invite the unscrupulous machinations of the demagogue, a stupidity which logically results in the rule of the mob.

"On the entrance wall of the public library in the metropolis of our demo-

cratic nation are these words, 'On the diffusion of education among the people rest the preservation and the perpetuation of our free institutions.'

Ideals of the Future Statesman

"The statesman of the future, conscious of greater powers on the higher plane of a further evolved intelligence than that of Webster, will have even wider views of education than obtained in 1850. He will see that the trained, developed intelligence of our people, from the lowest man, imbruted by misery, to the most privileged man imbruted by his riches, or made stupid by his luxury; the statesman of the future will see that the developed mind of every member of the nation is the only hope of a republic that can endure; a mind developed in intelligence, in civic spirit, and in mutual respect for every member of the race of mankind. He will perceive that billions for such moral and intellectual training for the men and women of our country is the wisest economy, and that by the irresistible logic of events it will send battleships to the junk-heap, and sink dreadnoughts in oblivion. He will see that America can bare her breast to the world, and lead the way to disarmament, and be the first of the nations to establish permanent peace, as she becomes the first of the nations to develop the lowest man to the highest expression of the life that is in him. He will see our navy and our army raised to the high dignity of a national and international police, maintaining quiet and order among the morally brutal and morally insane; a force of police conscious of their high calling, not a force provoking war and sapping the prosperity of the nation by its ever-growing necessities of expenditure, increasing by geometrical progression year by year, the expenditure of a fool's paradise, that ends ultimately in national bankruptcy and ruin, or in an uprising of the people such as yet the world has not witnessed. Every man knows this. I am not telling you anything new.

Is There a Natural Law of Taxation?

"Gentlemen, science has no enemy but ignorance. It is ignorance alone that holds us back. In Caesar's time we saw how a bungling system of taxation produced its inevitable proletariat. On this

higher plane of evolved intelligence of the twentieth century, where aeroplanes companion with eagles, and where electricity unlocks treasure-houses of undreamed possibilities, is it not within our grasp to find a law of taxation, which is as natural, as inherent in the nature of things, as truly a part of the orderly processes of the universe, as is the circulation of the blood and the attraction of gravitation?

"From the darkest moment in the past, men have tried to learn how to live together. We catalogue these efforts as the evolution of civilization. To the evolved intelligence of to-day it is not a true civilization, where poverty and misery persist, while the abundance of material things jumps ahead by leaps and bounds. It is no answer to the cry of starving Rome that 'Lucullus dines well to-day.'

"We ask ourselves why it is that civilization is slow in coming? Why drag heavily the chariot wheels of a rational social order? Every conceivable experiment in taxation that ingenuity could devise, leaves us as stupidly helpless as at any moment in the last three thousand years. We have never yet with unanimity sought for a natural law. Who shall tell us how to hitch to the stars in their orderly processes our little go-cart of civilization? Thousands believe that the answer has come, and that a natural law of taxation is to commend itself to the practical use of mankind, as unhesitatingly as one pulls daily from heaven the thunderbolt to light his streets, pull his trains, and speed his messages from continent to continent.

"You will see, gentlemen, that I am hopeful for the experiment of this last effort of mankind to establish a democracy, a civilization that can endure. Because, first of all, groups all over our land, groups like your own City Club, have determined that our American republic shall live. These groups from coast to coast are starting a blaze of righteousness. Call it 'fair play,' or what you will, it is the old flame of righteousness of the Hebrew prophets, a blaze which will soon burn up, like brushwood, our hypocrisies and our stupid blunders.

"And because, secondly, our country is new. We are not palsied by the tradi-

tions of the past. It is virgin soil in which we boldly plant the new ideas of a newly evolved intelligence. And lastly, because liberty-seekers from every nation under heaven are here to form for us a new American race of unconquerable American spirits. It is not American to believe that we can fail!

"May I chant with you this last word of Emerson's Boston hymn:

"I will have never a noble,
No lineage counted great;
Fishers and choppers and ploughmen
Shall constitute a state."

"I thank you for your hospitality in permitting me to address you. May I not hope that there is a young man here to-day who will feel it worth his while to consecrate his purse, his sacred honor and his life to keep burning the holy fires on the family altar of our great republic of the West, a democracy such as history has never known, and of which philosophers could never dream, our modern city-state." (Prolonged applause.)

CHICAGO'S PARK SYSTEMS AND THE PARK BOARD APPOINTMENTS.

At the noon-day meeting of the City Club, April 17, 1913, the subject for discussion after luncheon was Chicago's Parks. Mr. Frank I. Moulton took the chair and opened the discussion with the address which follows:

CHAIRMAN MOULTON—"Gentlemen, the subject to be discussed this noon is the park system of the city of Chicago, and more especially in reference to the appointments of Park Commissioners by the governor for the West Park and the Lincoln Park systems. The governor, according to a newspaper report, has intimated that, in a degree at least, he will recognize political considerations in these appointments and that he would take the full responsibility for the results. It is to be hoped that this statement may not be entirely accurate as to the views of the governor on the subject; and if it is, it is to be hoped that the statement was not made as a challenge. The governor is the father of a very large family, and we have strong hopes that he will be so greatly interested in the question of providing facilities and accommodations for the children of this city that he will see to it that the position of commissioner in these two park systems does not fall into incompetent hands.

"The first speaker of the day will be a gentleman with whom we are well acquainted; Mr. George Tracy Buckingham will now speak to you on the general subject of play-grounds and parks."

Mr. George Tracy Buckingham.

"Mr. Chairman and Gentlemen of the City Club:

"Man was originally a pastoral animal. Among his earliest and most important needs were sunshine, pure air, and contact with the soil. After all the centuries, these continue to be his most important possessions. Modern invention, improved transportation, and an involved economic system has made possible the great cities of to-day. They are essentially the product of man. Nature did not intend millions of people to live together on one congested spot. Therefore, it is of the highest importance that these gifts of the Almighty to mankind be made readily accessible to the millions who are chained by necessity to a city life.

Chicago's Parks Unequaled

"The founders of this great city early recognized the necessity of a great park system for the use of the poor and the middle classes; the rich can always take care of themselves. A system of parks was planned without equal in the universe. I have visited almost every city in Europe and America and have made investigation of their park systems and can say unhesitatingly that Chicago is in a class by herself. There is no other city with a park system even approximating ours.

"Nor is there a city in Christendom which has natural advantages which can compare with our miles of water front. We rejoice that by the recent and wise

action of the South Park Board, and approved by this club, the water front is now to be accessible to all our people.

"In Europe, it is recognized that the amusement and entertainment of the people is one of the most important questions in municipal government, and there we find the questions of sunshine, fresh air, and contact with the soil to be one of the greatest concerns of government. In any of the parks of Chicago, on any Sunday of the year when the sun shines, these great gifts are fully utilized by our people. They are priceless treasures and should be treated as such.

The Park Boards

"The South Park Board has managed with great efficiency the trust confided to its care. I am not informed as to the economy of that management, but its efficiency is obvious. It has done a great work. That board is appointed entirely by the courts and its personnel has been uniformly, not only good, but efficient. Moreover, the management of the other two great systems—the West Park and Lincoln Park—has been not only good, but constantly growing better. Those boards have had the services of some high-class, patriotic and efficient commissioners.

"Now, the members of the West Park and Lincoln Park Boards are appointed in part by the governor. Some of these appointments, throughout the years, have been made in view of political spoils, rather than in view of the great trust confided to the appointees. (This is not said in criticism of any particular board, or of individuals.) Too often the appointees under these commissioners have been selected more with reference to their ability to control delegates than to their ability to make more grass grow. And when this has happened the parks have suffered.

"It is my belief that the governor intends to do his whole duty by the people. I have confidence in the upright intentions of his Excellency. Good intentions, however, always produce more fruit when stimulated by an apparent and clamorous public sentiment. It is now the duty of the members of this club, of all who have at heart the interest of the people in these parks and playgrounds—which are the priceless heritage of the

poor—to impress upon his Excellency the overwhelming importance of appointing on these park boards men who will equal the governor himself in patriotism, and if possible, excel him in the efficiency with which that patriotism is transmitted into good works." (Applause.)

CHAIRMAN MOULTON—"I believe that it is safe to say that we all agree with the remarks of Mr. Buckingham in reference to our present governor, as to his character, as to his high-mindedness and to his intentions, but it is necessary, nevertheless, that public opinion should be aroused on this subject.

"The great difficulty is that the public, as a rule, are not aroused, and do not give matters of this kind their attention until after the appointments have been made, and then we exercise our privilege of kicking.

"Now, the purpose of this meeting is, if possible, to arouse interest in the question of the appointments that shall be made by the governor to fill these positions. The people of Chicago have been extremely generous to their park systems. It is the one thing in our city government that gets all that it asks for. Through taxation we contribute, in round figures, each year, to the three main park systems slightly in excess of five million dollars. In addition to this we respond whenever called upon, by voting bond issues. We voted a bond issue of one million dollars a year ago to the West Park Commissioners for the purpose of additional playgrounds, and I do not recall an instance in this city where either one of the park boards have appealed to the citizens on referendum for authority to issue bonds for the purpose of acquiring money for additional park sites but that the response has been favorable.

"We have a right, therefore, to ask and demand that men shall be put in charge of this fund who will see that the citizens get for every dollar a dollar's worth of results.

"The next speaker is a gentleman whom you all know, and to whom the city of Chicago is very greatly indebted. He is a gentleman who may be called the father of the playgrounds system here in this city, and who has done more than any other one man probably in the build-

ing up and the development of the playgrounds of this city, Mr. Edward B. De Groot." (Applause.)

Mr. Edward B. DeGroot.

"Mr. Chairman and Members of the Club: When one takes an excursion into the park systems and park management of this city he is confused at the complexity of things which he finds. He may be able to comprehend the political and technical situations found in one system, but when he tries to trace those factors in the other systems, he is very greatly confused. But this confusion is nothing as compared to his confusion on trying to explain our public park systems, their management and operation, to the visitor from a distant city. I have gone through that situation many times.

Park Management in Chicago

"Let me tell you about one effort that I made to explain to a man from Boston. I had to explain, first of all, our geographical divisions in this manner: I said, 'Now, when I stand this way (arms extended upward and to the right and left like a capital Y) my feet are resting on Lake Michigan, and my legs and my body represent our Chicago River flowing up-hill, and my two arms represent the two branches of the Chicago River, and all of the territory on my left represents the North Side of the city, the territory between my arms represents the West Side of the city, and all of that to my right represents the great South Division of the city.' Very well; he could grasp that.

"When I went on to explain that each of these territories has its separate and distinct park board, not related in any way, but separate municipalities in our great municipality; and when I explained that each territory had its own taxing and bonding powers; and further that each section worked out its own ordinances and policed its parks and boulevards, he was much confused. He said, 'When you stood with arms upward like the fork of a Y, your head was between your arms. Does that mean that all of the brains in this matter is in the west division?' I said, 'Perhaps not. The Bureau of Municipal Efficiency rendered a report on our park systems about a years ago, and they left us somewhat con-

fused as to whether the brains was on the North Side or the South Side. They didn't hint that it was on the West Side.' He then suggested, because he knew something about anatomy, 'Possibly you have a bad case of lateral curvature of the spine?' I admitted that the head leans badly to one side. But I assured the gentleman from Boston that our back bone was all right, that we had been diagnosing the case and were about to apply the remedy.

The Array of Park Boards

"Now, we can only understand the situations which we have in hand with reference to appointments when we analyze the conditions on the various sides of the city. On the South Side we have five commissioners who are appointed by the Circuit Court judge, one commissioner being appointed each year. These commissioners are appointed for terms of five years. Two men on the South Park Board receive salaries, the president and the auditor, and it is significant in this connection that the president of the South Park Board for the last two years has been turning his salary over to the purchasing of pictures and art hangings for the eleven field houses on the South Side.

"On the West Side there are seven commissioners, appointed by the governor, not any of whom receive pay for their services.

"On the North Side we have a like condition, seven commissioners appointed by the governor. Then we have the Special Park Commission, in addition to the three district park boards. Our Special Park Board is the creature of our City Council, created in 1899 to do what it could with the problem of supplying playgrounds and breathing places for the city. The Special Park Commission started with nine aldermen and nine citizens, not members of the Council; in Mayor Busse's time that commission was used as a sort of dumping ground for politicians, or the mayor's friends of his own political faith. The process continued until it grew to twenty-nine commissioners. Recently wise action has been taken in reducing that board to fifteen members, so the Special Park Commission has, perhaps, taken new life in reorganizing itself.

"In addition to these four park boards,

of large size, and of big official power, we have numerous other little park boards which cover districts not falling within the park districts of the North, West, or South Sides. Consequently, we have a great array of park boards, and it is not to be expected that the man from Boston could comprehend our real condition without missing his train if he expected to leave the same day we started to explain.

A Civil Service Test for Park Commissioners

"One thing more, we should take into consideration that our park systems represent tremendous magnitude, great diversity of operations, and expenditures of vast sums of money. When we realize this we see at once that the appointments to the various boards ought to make up a fine balance with reference to handling these big problems and this diversity of work; but we do not find that sort of thing taking place.

"The appointments are not made with reference to the job in hand, or with lens, such as the problems of landscape gardening, horticulture, engineering, and architecture, the problem of accounting and finance, the problem of recreation, of civil service, and zoological grounds, or the legal aspects of park functions and management. Not in the history of park appointments have men been selected for coping with these particular problems. That they have been selected for other reasons is quite apparent. So I believe that one of the essential things we need at this time is to encourage the governor, the Circuit Court judges, and the mayor, who appoints the special park commission, to try to give balance to these great machines.

"In the commissions of seven, which we find on the North and the West Sides, instead of trying to maintain merely political balance, the governor should appoint one man who has a reputation for being able to interpret, not only to the other members of the board, but to the entire community things which have to do with landscape and horticulture work. Another man ought to be selected because of his knowledge of engineering, so that he might be able to interpret to his fellow park commissioners problems of engineering. There should be a man

on each board who is skilled in accounting and finance; also some one who knows about this very modern matter, public recreation. There has not been a man on any of the boards since the inception of the big recreation movement, which has caused the tail to wag the dog in park development, who has made a study of and thoroughly understands the meaning of the movement. Most of the advances that have been made, aside from the bricks and mortar involved, have been made in spite of some of the commissioners rather than because of them.

"Again, civil service has recently been introduced in the park systems. There ought to be on each board some good friend of the civil service who can interpret to the other members of the park board civil service in all of its aspects. With our zoological grounds on the North Side, it seems that we should have a man there who knows all about the four-footed animals. Then, perhaps, we should add a man who knows about the legal intricacies of park management. Such a scheme of appointments would give balance, and would enable the park commissioners to handle intelligently the various problems coming before them.

"One of two plans for park management has always been in vogue in our park systems, reflecting the kind of appointments made:

Domination by Park Board

"*Plan I.* A system where the park board dominates. I mean that the park board, either through committees, or individuals, undertakes in detail—not very small detail, perhaps, but detail nevertheless—to handle a great many of the problems of park management and park operation. That means, I believe, a perfectly halting, subservient service on the part of the general superintendent and his aids. That plan of action is responsible for the really atrocious organization which has gone on in our park systems. What I mean here has been splendidly set forth in the report of the Chicago Bureau of Public Efficiency. Thanks to the civil service experts who have come into the park work within the last few years, many organization factors have been very well taken care of. In other words, an organization scheme is under way in the various park systems, which has im-

proved the management very much, but civil service has not prevented the commissioners from dominating in management. That goes on with the same unhappy result.

"If there is to be a continuation of this plan, the plan of park boards dominating in details of management, it seems to me my suggestion is worthy of consideration; that the governor appoint, for instance, men who are qualified to think clearly and act wisely in some aspect of park work, who can really interpret to fellow commissioners what is meant by an architectural problem, a landscape problem, or a recreational problem. Otherwise the commissioners will simply run around the wasteful circle of the blind leading the blind, and we shall never secure efficient management. Since we are making such wise use of the civil service, why not put the park appointees to a civil service test and qualify them according to the civil service process to hold the job of park commissioner?"

"I believe that many of the appointments that are now made are made merely to keep up a certain political balance. For instance, on the South Side, traditionally the complexion of the Board has taken on the complexion of the Circuit Court judges. If a majority of the judges are Democrats, then three of the commissioners on the South Side board are Democrats, and two Republicans, and vice versa when we have opposite conditions. That sort of thing has appeared on the West Side and the North Side, and on the city or special park board.

Domination by General Superintendent

"Plan II. A scheme of operation and management where the general superintendent dominates the board—I do not mean in an offensive way, but a thoroughly constructive way; and it is a happy and wise board that will permit a competent superintendent to dominate it. Under that system we find the superintendent going ahead with a free hand. There is direct action; there are no delays; there is fine *esprit re corps* among the workers, and there is economy in management and operation. It is significant that the only real achievements in park operation in the city of Chicago

have been accomplished under that system.

"If you go to the West Side, for illustration, you will find that superior work has been done only when that condition obtained, when the superintendent dominated the board and was given a free hand. The conclusions are quite simple, I think, aside from those already drawn. We need park consolidation without doubt, and in this we shall only disagree concerning the kind of consolidation. I favor the no-board plan, the plan of consolidation with the city, placing the parks under a bureau and a single head managing the whole business. We are now having trouble and will continue to have trouble about appointments, and when the appointments are made we shall have trouble as to whether the superintendent or the park board is to dominate. Therefore, that aspect of the situation can be done away with by the elimination of the board. I believe that when we do that we shall arrive at once at simple machinery and be able to fix responsibility readily and have an efficient and economical plan of park management.

Should the Mayor Appoint the Park Commissioners?

"The argument against this is, of course, that we give the mayor too much power. People point to present examples and say, 'The Special Park Commission is an excellent example of the failure of the mayor's appointing power. That board has not been very efficient since its first few years of life.'

"I think such an assertion is begging the question. We have not had presented to us this 'big game' which will be presented under park consolidation. Perhaps we are not taking sufficient interest in our municipal government, because the game is too small, too petty—but if we have a big thing at stake like our parks, perhaps we shall take more interest and see that the mayor makes right appointments. And then, too, by this single system of parks, the appointments, and all details could be handled by civil service methods and thus be removed from political power. We should begin with right organization. It is not a matter of the choice of two evils.

Operate Recreation Facilities by Special Board

"Whether we consolidate under a single board or a single head, I believe we ought to give serious consideration to the operation of our recreation facilities apart from park government. We have in this city an investment of something like ten million dollars for recreation facilities, for wholesome sports for children, and for recreation on the part of young men and young women and grown-up, mature people. We are spending something like one-half million dollars for the operation and maintenance of these recreation facilities annually. Does not that warrant more direct handling of that specific problem? There are few, if any, practical park men in the United States to-day who have had experience in this field. It is a field of municipal work which needs direct interpretation and handling by experts. So I believe we should give consideration to the plan suggested. Other cities have faced the problem and have favored direct treatment.

"The city of Boston has recently concluded that it should have a bureau of recreation for the entire city, grouping in that bureau all of the bathing facilities, all of the playgrounds, whether upon park property or upon school property. Certain other cities have gone into repressive and restrictive measures as part of the duties of the public recreation commission; I mean the regulation of dance halls, moving picture shows and various other recreation facilities. The city of Philadelphia has recently created a public recreation commission, which proposes to take out of the hands of the park board and the school board many recreation facilities and operate them without let or hindrance on the part of the school and park groups. The city of Cleveland is planning to do the same thing. Los Angeles did that many years ago. San Francisco several years ago created a public recreation commission and is operating its playgrounds and recreation facilities quite apart from the park board." (Applause.)

RECENT STARTLING ASPECTS OF THE TRACTION QUESTION.

At the noonday meeting of the City Club, April 25, 1913, Mr. George C. Sikes discussed the proposed street railway merger. Mr. Samuel Dauchy, the presiding officer, introduced Mr. Sikes with the following address:

CHAIRMAN DAUCHY—"Members of the City Club: One of the things that strikes the most superficial observer of our traffic situation is the absolute need of unified operation of our transportation companies. One of the most serious evils in Chicago has been the downtown termini of our railway companies. The downtown district is involved in a maze of traffic congestion because of the so-called short looping, because of the stub-end terminals and because of the frequent turns which the large surface cars make around the street corners. The Union Loop, too, is something which we have endured for years, and with its present method of operation it has reached its full capacity to serve the public. In spite of this the elevated railway lines all make

the downtown loop and return over their own lines to their various termini in the outskirts of the city.

"The various through routes which have been projected here in Chicago are not operated to serve the public as they should be. The through routes are in operation, but the number of cars and the amount of traffic which they carry are far less than that of the routes which come to the central district and return again. Therefore, it is certainly true that the necessity for unified operation of our various transportation lines is indicated for many reasons. Unified operation naturally leads to unified control and unified ownership.

"There is now in the air, as you know, a plan for a gigantic merger of all the transportation lines, of all of the intra-urban lines in Chicago, the street railways and the elevated lines, and also a connection with one of the large public service corporations furnishing power for these lines. A city ordinance has been pre-

pared. The Committee on Local Transportation of the Common Council is meeting frequently, and, by the way, they have just finished a session this morning, and this is the time for the City Club to know about these things.

"I have said before to the members of the City Club, and I feel it supremely, that the City Club stands for knowledge and for light. To-day Mr. Sikes has something to tell us about this proposed merger, and I take great pleasure in introducing to you Mr. George C. Sikes." (Applause.)

Mr. George C. Sikes.

"Mr. Chairman and Gentlemen of the City Club: It is remarkable how history repeats itself in developments connected with the Chicago traction question. There

"It is remarkable how history repeats itself in developments connected with the Chicago traction question. There has been a succession of attempts by selfish private interests, aided by governments temporarily fallen into the hands of enemies of the public welfare, to secure a stranglehold upon the local transportation situation in the city of Chicago. It may surprise some of you to hear that the attempt of this nature now under way is more diabolical in its purpose, broader in scope, and more dangerous in possible consequences to the community than any that have been made before.

Early Franchises and Street Railway Legislation

"The first street railway franchise grant of the city of Chicago, under which cars were operated, was that to the Chicago City Railway Company, in 1858. The grant was for twenty-five years and thereafter until city purchase. Thus the principle of short-term grants, with reservation of the right of city purchase, was adopted by Chicago when it first began to deal with the street railway question.

"The first underhanded and diabolical attempt of private interests to subvert the established traction policy of Chicago for their own benefit was made in 1865, when the street railway interests induced the Legislature to pass an act extending to ninety-nine years the franchise grant which had been made by the City Council for twenty-five years, and

postponing the right of city purchase until the end of the 99-year period. After many years of turmoil the federal Supreme Court held the so-called 99-year act to be ineffective.

"This outrageous proceeding of 1865 so offended the people that there was embodied in the constitution of 1870 a provision designed to make its repetition forever impossible. The only effect of the provision in question was to compel the traction plotters to avoid a particular method of procedure. It did not in any wise turn them from their purpose, but merely caused them to draw more heavily upon the scheming abilities of their clever attorneys.

"Shortly after the adoption of the constitution of 1870, the Legislature embodied in general law the policy of a twenty-year limitation on all street railway franchise grants.

The City vs. the Traction Companies. 1895-1907

"In 1895, Charles T. Yerkes, the Chicago traction magnate, started another movement to overturn for his own benefit the established traction policy of the state. He had the Legislature pass an act authorizing grants by City Councils for 99-year periods. The failure of this act to become law was due solely to its veto by John P. Altgeld, then governor. At the succeeding election Altgeld was succeeded by Tanner as governor. The attempt was first made to put through the Legislature of 1897 the Humphrey bills. These measures failed, the notorious Allen law being enacted instead. The Allen law permitted grants by Councils for fifty-year periods, with a stipulation to keep the fare at five cents for twenty years. In various ways the law was designed to favor the companies and tie the hands of the city.

"Carter Harrison, now mayor, who had been elected mayor for his first term in 1897, took the lead in fighting the Allen law. He refused to consider a grant to the companies while this iniquitous measure should remain upon the statute books. The Allen law was repealed. By his course at that time Mayor Harrison rendered the community a great public service.

"After several years of agitation, the traction settlement ordinances were adopted in 1907. These ordinances gave

the companies twenty-year grants, subject to termination by city purchase at any time.

"These ordinances were expected to furnish a settlement for a considerable period of the vexing traction question. Seemingly, the traction managers had learned their lesson and were willing to give up speculative schemes, let politics alone, and devote their attention to the improvement of the street car system. T. E. Mitten, president of the City Railway Company at the time of the adoption of the ordinances—to my mind the best operating street car man who ever had anything to do with Chicago street railways—seemed to regard with pleasure and ambitious pride the opportunity afforded by the settlement ordinances for the development of a first-class railway system. But Mr. Mitten is no longer connected with our street railways. For reasons that I have never understood Mr. Mitten has been let out. The operation of the lines is in the hands of men of less experience in serving the public. The real directing factors in street railway management at the present time are lawyers and financiers, who have their eyes set upon big profits from the promotion of deals rather than upon steady earnings from operation. In other words, the ideals of Yerkes and of the Yerkes regime are again to the front, to the disparagement of the capable street car operator of the Mitten type.

A Startling Aspect of the Present Situation

"The work of rehabilitation for which the settlement ordinances made provision has been well done. It was carried on under the supervision of Bion J. Arnold, chairman of the Board of Supervising Engineers. But the operating results have been highly unsatisfactory. The terms of the traction settlement ordinances have not been carried out in good faith, especially so far as through route operation is concerned. Not long ago, at a meeting in the City Hall, I heard Mr. Busby, the lawyer representing the City Railway Company, dilate upon the benefits of through route operation and of unified management of street car lines, which he promised would be forthcoming if the city would enter into a new deal guaranteeing the companies higher profits.

"One of the startling recent aspects of the Chicago Traction question is the fact that the city authorities see fit to give such a proposition serious consideration, instead of spurning it and taking steps to force the companies to give the service which they are specifically obligated to give by the terms of the present ordinances.

"The most startling developments of recent traction history in Chicago are the proposition for the merger of the surface and elevated railway systems and the attitude thereto of Mayor Harrison and his law department.

Unification of all the transportation lines of the city under one management is, of course, highly desirable. But it is as vicious for the traction managers of the present day to seek to make use of the need for operating unification to perfect a stranglehold upon the community as it was for Yerkes to plead the need for better street car service as the justification for his outrageous franchise schemes. In fact, it is worse, because the traction managers of to-day and the public officials assisting them are sinning against the greater light. They are supposed to be living in a day of more enlightenment.

The Proposed Merger

"The plan of these traction promoters, represented in negotiations with the city by Lawyers Beale, Gurley, and Busby, is to merge the surface and elevated railroads into a single concern. The street railway lines are to be taken at their value as certified by the Board of Supervising Engineers—about \$134,000,000—and the elevated lines at a valuation to be agreed upon—\$80,000,000 is the amount suggested—making a total of \$214,000,000. The unified concern would then spend in subway construction and for improvements considerable additional sums—presumably enough to carry the capitalization above \$300,000,000. The plan is to have the city grant the unified traction corporation a new franchise, absolutely unlimited in duration, with the qualification that the city may terminate the grant at any time by city purchase. For the carrying out of this plan additional enabling legislation would be necessary, as the existing law limits street railway grants to twenty years. If the city could never raise the

purchase price—a cash sum, say of \$300,000,000 or more—the grant would in fact be perpetual, tied up more rigidly and with a smaller measure of city control than any grants heretofore proposed in this community, even under the Allen law. There is no suggestion of a companion measure to increase the financial power of the city to purchase the property. The only way out that is suggested is a delusive and absurd amortization scheme.

"The financial plan as outlined provides for the payment, first, of operating expenses, taxes, renewals, and maintenance charges; then it allows the company a return of 7 per cent upon the recognized value of its property, whereas under the present traction settlement ordinances the corresponding rate of return is 5 per cent; after that, if anything is left, 70 per cent of the remainder is to go into an amortization fund to retire the capitalization, so that some time the city will own the property debt free. If the amortization fund does not materialize, and if the city's borrowing power continues to be restricted, the grant cannot be terminated. Under these circumstances, the powerful backers of the traction combine would have a direct interest in mixing in politics to keep the city's borrowing power restricted. It is unlikely that the traction managers would expect to get more than the assured 7 per cent return. They would have little interest, therefore, in keeping down expenses for no other purpose than to create an amortization fund to enable the city to take from them their high dividend-paying property. Under the Cleveland settlement ordinances, the stockholders get 6 per cent on their investment—no more, no less, whether the management be good or bad. The result is public complaint of wasteful management. The entire value of private ownership, with its supposed superior initiative due to the motive for additional profit, is removed. When that stage is reached, the sooner municipalization is undertaken, the better. There are reasons for believing that the Chicago traction promoters want to put through just one more speculative deal of large proportions and clean up the speculative profits on that deal, without regard to

the situation that the city may be left to face afterward.

Proposed Legislation Vicious

"Of course, Chicago cannot afford to permit this. I cannot believe that a community that has been engaged in a relentless traction war for half a century will allow itself to be outdone now by a new gang of promoters, even if the schemes be presented in somewhat more plausible form.

"As I have said, the plan of the merger promoters calls for enabling legislation. The most startling fact of all in connection with recent traction developments is that Mayor Harrison and his law department are standing sponsors for proposed legislation more vicious by far, in my opinion, than the notorious Allen law of 1897.

"Although neither the Local Transportation Committee nor the City Council has as yet voiced approval, even tentatively, of the proposed merger plan, the law department has co-operated with the lawyers for the interests urging the merger in drafting two bills—one conferring upon the city the power to approve the merger plan, the other conferring additional powers upon the companies. Included in the broad grant of powers is authorization for the merger of street railroad and other railroad corporations engaged primarily in local passenger business.

Lack of City Control

"The merger may be under the railroad act, but the powers of control of the city are in no way enlarged. It is well known that the city has far less power of control over railroad than over street railroad corporations. The company bill does not relate to Chicago alone, but applies to a transportation zone, including Chicago and territory within twenty-five miles of the city limits in any direction. This transportation zone, it will be seen, is larger than Cook County. It is evident that the city of Chicago—once it has made to such a corporation, organized under the railroad law, practically a perpetual grant, with the rate of fare and transfer privileges fixed for the life of the grant by contract—can expect to exercise little control thereafter.

"These bills were transmitted by the law department to the mayor with an explanatory letter of approval. On March

18 last, the bills were transmitted by Mayor Harrison to the City Council, accompanied by a message urging early consideration of them by the Local Transportation Committee, to the end that they might be sent to the Legislature for passage at the present session of that body. According to statements published in the papers Wednesday morning of this week, Mayor Harrison was complaining of the delay of the Local Transportation Committee in acting upon these bills, and expressing the fear they might not get to Springfield in time for passage at the present session.

"For downright viciousness and diabolical cleverness these bills—which are the joint work of the city law department and of the corporation attorneys, and which were sent to the City Council with an approving message by Mayor Harrison—beat anything I have ever seen. And during the twenty years that I have been watching street railway legislation in Illinois I have known some pretty tough measures. I doubt if I have the ability to perceive the full iniquity of the bills now under consideration.

Broad Powers of Consolidation

"The two measures taken together are calculated to pave the way for a giant merger of transportation lines—surface, subway, and elevated, and the grant of power is broad enough to include other railroads—within a transportation zone comprising Chicago and the territory adjacent thereto within twenty-five miles of the city limits in any direction. The proposed grant of powers of consolidation to the companies, by the company bill, is full and complete, without administrative control of capitalization or of other features. The so-called city bill enlarges the power of the city to promote this giant merger, without giving the city the additional powers of control that are necessary to enable it to cope successfully with the new creation—a veritable Frankenstein monster.

"The powers conferred seem to me broad enough to pave the way for a great railroad terminal scheme, though I have not heard it suggested that the backers of the measures have that in mind. The creation of a transportation zone covering the territory within a distance of 25 miles from the city limits in any direction, with unlimited powers of

consolidation of railroads of any and all kinds operating within that district, struck me as significant.

"The powers of consolidation conferred upon the companies may be exercised by them without the consent or approval of the city or of any administrative agency of government.

"The claim doubtless will be made that the proposed legislation cannot be very bad, inasmuch as it carries a referendum provision. Vicious legislation may be rendered less harmful by referendum provisions really conferring upon the people the power of veto, but it cannot be sanctified thereby. But the referendum feature of the legislation under consideration is a delusion and a sham.

Sham Referendum Provisions

"In the first place, there is no provision for a referendum upon either bill. Both become effective upon passage by the Legislature. The company bill has no referendum features whatever. The so-called city bill, in Section 3, provides for a referendum as a condition precedent to the municipal acquisition or operation of transportation lines. It is remarkable how some minds are more alert to apply the referendum to municipal ownership projects than to franchise granting schemes.

"Section 4 of the so-called city bill, which confers upon the City Council power to approve of the merger plan, contains the proviso that "No grant under authority of this *section* shall become effective until a proposition to approve the ordinance" shall have been approved by the voters. It will be seen that the referendum is required only upon acts authorized by a single section of the bill. Other sections relate also to franchise granting powers. I suspect that the grant of powers in the so-called city bill by sections not subject to the referendum requirement, taken in conjunction with the broad provisions of the company bill, would make possible, without a referendum, the accomplishment of many, if not most of the things which the traction promoters have in mind. I feel very sure that Section 2 of the so-called city bill would, at the very least, authorize the grant, without a referendum, of a franchise of unlimited duration to a corporation to build and operate the subway

system recommended by the Harbor and Subway Commission.

"Even as applied to a single section, however, the referendum feature of the so-called city bill appears to me delusive and fraught with possibilities of trickery.

"The men who put through the voting machine contract worked out the way to beat the referendum. It is to take advantage of a popular vote upon a general proposition to put through afterward, without a referendum, a specific project that could never command popular approval if put to a vote in its finished form. It looks to me as if the framers of the referendum clause of the so-called city bill may have had the voting machine episode in mind when they drafted this measure. The question of the adoption of the ordinance making a grant is not to be submitted to the people, but the grant cannot become effective 'until a proposition to approve the ordinance' has been submitted to the electorate. The Mueller law provisions relating to the referendum call for a vote upon the 'adoption' of an ordinance.

"According to the newspapers, Mr. Beale, one of the attorneys representing the interests back of the merger, was very anxious to have submitted at the recent election the general proposition as to whether or not there should be a merger. Suppose this general question had been submitted, and the people had voted in the affirmative. Are we to understand that a referendum of that kind would have justified the Council in granting such an ordinance as it might please thereafter, without again consulting the people? I take it that this procedure might possibly meet the requirement of the referendum feature of the so-called city bill.

"It may not be amiss to point out in this connection that Alderman Block, chairman of the Local Transportation Committee, suggested to the committee that there be submitted to the voters at the recent election certain general propositions relating to merger and subway matters that had been prepared for him by the mayor's Harbor and Subway Commission. Opposition of other aldermen on the committee caused the withdrawal of the suggestion.

"I may have put a strained interpretation upon the wording of the referendum

feature of Section 4, but at least it would be safer to use the wording of the Mueller law upon this subject.

Frontage Consents

"I have omitted thus far to mention the subject of frontage consents. The bills contemplate a most radical change of policy in this respect. I agree that failure to secure frontage consents, as now required by law, ought not to operate as an absolute bar to the construction of street railways or subways which public interest demands. But the pending bills do away with frontage consents entirely, not only for subway and surface lines, but for elevated and other railroads as well. What is more, the number of tracks on a street now occupied by an elevated line may be increased without consulting the abutting property owners.

"This proposition is certainly startling.

"Of a piece with this proposed merger plan and the suggested enabling legislation therefor is the movement fathered by Mayor Harrison to break down the Council and make the aldermen of less importance in our plan of city government. Some months ago Mayor Harrison wanted the Council to abdicate on subway matters and turn over as far as possible to a subway commission, subject absolutely to his direction, its powers and duties. Now the influence at Springfield of the Harrison administration is back of the Glackin public utility bill, the purpose of which is to take from the Council and vest in a commission named by the mayor powers of control which hitherto have been exercised in Chicago by the Council. The public welfare, it seems to me, calls for a continuation of Council control in these matters.

"I cannot believe it possible that the merger bills now before the Transportation Committee can receive the approval of the aldermen or become law in their present form. But it is disquieting to see serious consideration given to measures of this nature. The only public safety, it seems to me, lies in a complete about face.

As a general proposition, a merger of all the transportation lines of the city is, of course, highly desirable. But a stock jobbing merger, under a franchise designed to tie the hands of the city for a long period, or for all time, is not to

be thought of. A stock jobbing merger, urged upon the community by clever lawyers and scheming financiers, is all that the city is now offered.

Municipalization Urged

"It is time to call a halt and to proceed on different lines. The only way out, in my opinion, is through early municipalization. We can pull out yet by exercising the right of purchase reserved to the city under the traction settlement ordinances. I voted for those ordinances. I believe now, as I did at the time of their adoption, that they offered the best solution then possible. The way to realize the full benefit of those ordinances is to municipalize under them. That can be done now, or in the near future, if public sentiment can be marshaled in support of the policy. Let the proposed merger plan go through, and the road to municipalization will be practically closed for a long period, if not for all time.

"Fortunately, under the settlement ordinances, the different companies can be dealt with separately. The purchase price of the City Railway Company is now about \$45,000,000. The city has about \$12,000,000 in its traction purchase fund, which is increasing rapidly. The city under present laws has some margin of borrowing power, but not as much as the difference between \$12,000,000 and \$45,000,000. Without constitutional change, the Legislature, if it will, can increase the borrowing power of Chicago by over \$100,000,000, or almost enough, with the traction fund, to purchase all the street railways of the city. Thereafter, the natural tendency will be for subways and elevated lines to fall into the hands of the city as owner of the surface lines.

"If the city authorities, instead of discussing merger plans, would give their time to the formulation of a program of early municipalization, and ask for enabling legislation to that end, chiefly in the form of additional borrowing power, they would be rendering the most useful

service to their city. The time has come to urge early municipalization of street railway lines in Chicago, not on doctrinaire grounds, but as a common-sense, business proposition, necessary to the preservation of community rights.

"So far as the elevated lines are concerned for the present, the Legislature should be asked to give the city power to compel through route operation of trains and to require transfers.

"The situation calls for masterful guidance. I wish some way could be found to bring Walter Fisher into the game. His help is needed to make the traction settlement ordinances function their best at this crisis.

"If the city of Chicago does municipalize its street railways, I should like to see it bring T. E. Mitten back as operating head of the system.

"Fisher, Arnold, and Mitten, if they could be induced to undertake the task, would make a trio to insure success of municipal management of Chicago's street railways." (Applause.)

CHAIRMAN DAUCHY— "Gentlemen, are there any questions?"

ALDERMAN EUGENE BLOCK— "Mr. Chairman, my name was mentioned in connection with Mr. Sikes' address. Not having any proof at hand, I would be glad to furnish him with the document containing the general propositions that were presented to the Committee on Local Transportation some time ago. That document contained nothing else than an abstract question, "Shall the city of Chicago construct comprehensive subways or shall it enter into a merger scheme?" Those two abstract considerations in the resolution were discussed in relation to benefits and detriments; they were laid bare, and the matter was rejected by that committee for one reason, because there was not sufficient time to educate the public on the benefits.

"I thank you for the opportunity afforded me to make this explanation." (Applause.)



The City Club Bulletin

Published by the CITY CLUB OF CHICAGO, 315 Plymouth Court

DWIGHT L. AKERS, Editor*

VOLUME VI

MONDAY, JUNE 9, 1913

NUMBER 9

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THE DISCOVERY OF WILD WHEAT

Mr. Aaron Aaronson, director of the Jewish Agricultural Experiment Station at Haifa, Palestine, and collaborator with the Department of Agriculture at Washington, spoke at the City Club, March 6, 1913, on "The Discovery of Wild Wheat and Its Possibilities for the United States." Professor John M. Coulter of the University of Chicago presided and spoke as follows:

Mr. John M. Coulter

"I suppose the most important material problem that we are facing as a people is the problem of our food supply, for it has become alarmingly evident that the rate of increase in our population is immensely greater than the rate of increase in our food production. We must either kill off the population or increase the production of food. Now, you must realize that there are always two sides to this problem of food production—the plant on the one side and the soil on the other. Both of these things are being studied in these last few years. We are upon the eve of a great revolution in the handling of plants and in cultivating them as producers of food, not only over areas now used, but over areas where we have now no thought of producing them. In other words, we are gradually passing

from the days of an empirical practice to the days of a scientific profession.

"In the speaker we have with us today we have a man who combines this scientific spirit and training with practical outlook and performance, and it is exactly that kind of a combination which the future development of this subject is going to demand. He comes to us, however, not merely as one with that kind of an outlook. He has made at least one notable discovery. He has discovered wild wheat in Palestine. This discovery is not merely scientifically interesting, but it is of such immense practical importance that it is quite worth while to hear an account of it. I am exceedingly pleased to introduce to you Professor Aaronson of Haifa, Palestine." (Applause.)

Mr. Aaron Aaronson

"Mr. Chairman and Gentlemen: The discovery of wild wheat in Palestine cannot be understood, it seems to me, without a description of the country and a review of the researches and the efforts that we made to discover wild wheat. Palestine, although it is a very small country, has the largest literature any country has ever produced—and that is, in one sense, the greatest misfortune for

*Carlos Colton Daughaday, Acting Editor.

our country. A great number of pilgrims and a still greater number of tourists visit this country every year, and after having spent from three days to three weeks in Palestine, too great a number of them feel it their duty to go home and sit for months and months and write very thick books on what they have seen and learned in Palestine. We have therefore titles of books by the tens of thousands, but through them we get a very wrong idea of what the country really is. Most of the writers depict Palestine as being an arid, desert country, a God-forsaken country, and they wondered—twenty or twenty-five years ago—what could be done with it; how it was possible that this country should have been considered a very fertile one in the past, and that it should have been spoken of as a country where 'milk and honey overflowed.'

Developing a Backward Country

"Now, after thirty years of experimenting in Palestine, conducted mainly by Jewish agriculturists, we have seen a new light. To speak of Jewish agriculturists, of Jews trying to investigate the agricultural conditions of an abandoned, backward, undeveloped country—this alone seems to be a kind of romance. We all know that the Jews for eighteen hundred years have not been allowed to go into agriculture. Even if they were an agricultural people before they were driven out of Palestine, they had eighteen hundred years to forget their agricultural training, and you will all admit that eighteen hundred years is a long enough time to forget all about this profession. You know also how difficult it is to bring 'back to the soil' here the city-bred people, even if they are people whose grandfathers, or indeed the generation before, were farmers. It is more difficult to bring back to the soil Jews, city-bred people for eighteen hundred years, living in ghettos, and to try to plant them in a new, undeveloped country, a country which was considered for many years as sterile beyond hope.

"After thirty years of scientific research and experiment and of practical agricultural work in Palestine, we are able now to establish a parallel between Palestine and countries in other parts of the world. And the study of agricul-

tural, botanical and climatic conditions in Palestine has shown us that of all countries the one which resembles Palestine more than any other is California. When you study the conditions in California and those in Palestine, you will find that they are in every detail the same. And since you know that here, and indeed the world over, California has the reputation of being a very fertile country, you have to take your choice of these two alternatives: Either Palestine is not sterile or California is not fertile. I told you that as to detail California and Palestine are similar; not as to size. Palestine is a very small country. It is only a twentieth part of California in size; so that we may say Palestine is in reality only a miniature California, and in this miniature it is very often easier to find out and point out very interesting details than it would be in a large country like California.

"The topography of Palestine is curiously similar to that of California. You know the geography of California, and therefore it will be easy for you to follow me when I try to give you the topography of Palestine. Palestine is longer from north to south than from west to east, just as is the case with California. We have a long line of coast, along the Mediterranean shore, as you have in California along the Pacific Ocean. Our coast, the Sharon and Shefelah plains, are similar to the coast line, the plains of California. The California foothills have climatic and agricultural conditions similar to those in Palestine, on Mount Carmel, Mounts of Judea, around Jerusalem, Hebron, and so on. In the Jordan valley and Dead Sea basin, from the extreme north to the extreme south of Palestine, the conditions are similar to the conditions in the Sacramento and the San Joaquin valleys and the Death valley in California. East of the Jordan valley you find the high plateaus of Moab and Ammon, the Mount Hermon, where conditions are similar to the conditions that you have in the Sierras in California. You have as the lowest point on your continent a salt lake, Salton Sea, about 280 feet below sea level, and you have one of the highest points on the continent in the Shasta mountains. We have exactly similar conditions in Palestine. The Dead Sea is not merely 280 feet below

sea level, but is 1,200 feet below. At the summit of Mount Hermon and at the summit of Mount Lebanon, we are about 9,000 feet above sea level.

"So we have in this small country a great variety of climate. We have a difference of more than 10,000 feet of altitude, and therefore in this small area we have very rich flora and very rich fauna. The conditions of life for plants, animals and man are so varied between one point and another within very short distances that it enables the country to produce an astonishing variety of animals and plant food.

Country Is Not Sterile

"During the last thirty years we have succeeded in demonstrating that the country is not a sterile one. I would like to give you some figures showing what the development of this country has been in the last thirty years under the influence of Jewish colonization. You must remember that Palestine is under the Turkish government, and although the Turkish government has always treated the Jews very well—there has been no discrimination, no religious or racial discrimination—still we did not have any backing from the government, because the Turkish government understands absolutely nothing of administration. The country is very badly administered. The Turkish officials don't encourage private initiative, no matter if it comes from Mohammedans, Christians or Jews. The Turkish officials understand their duty to be only the collecting of taxes—as much as they can collect—in trying to exploit, especially, the farmers as much as possible. So we did not have any encouragement from the government. We were no professional farmers. Our parents came from all parts of the world, especially from Russia, Roumania and other countries where the Jews are persecuted and have no right to live on farms. We did not know the local conditions of Palestine; we did not understand the language, customs and traditions of the natives; so we had all kinds of handicaps. We had another important handicap. Most of the immigrants that came there had very little financial means, and some of them had no means at all. These are certainly not conditions for the development of agriculture in a new country. Still the progress of thirty years, especially when

you keep in mind the conditions that we had to cope with, appears a very important one. This progress of our Jewish farmers was not limited to the Jewish settlements and communities, but had a beneficial influence on the whole country.

Progress Is Remarkable

"When we came to Palestine 32 years ago the peasants, the natives, used to eat only sorghum bread. Sorghum is cultivated in your southern states, but is not cultivated for bread purposes. It is rather fed to the chickens and hogs. Sorghum bread is one of the least valuable breads there is. Still all the peasants in Palestine lived on sorghum bread. Barley bread was considered quite a luxury. White bread was only for the very rich. Chiefs of tribes used to have a little wheat flour to be used on rare occasions, when they had highly distinguished guests. For a peasant to eat wheat bread was a thing never dreamed of in Palestine. Nowadays, after thirty years, notwithstanding the increase in local consumption in Palestine through the natural increase of population and the immigration, both of which are very large, the export of wheat is about eight times as much as it was thirty years ago. This seems to me the best proof of the possibility of making Palestine a productive country again. And every peasant now eats neither sorghum bread nor barley bread, but eats wheat bread. You know what an important food article wheat bread is, and you may realize by that what progress has been made along this line.

"When we came to Palestine, extremely few Arabs knew what a wagon or a carriage was. Even now they have no word for 'carriage' or 'wagon.' They use the European word. They did not know that a horse could be used to draw a wagon or a plow. In fact, when we began buying the first horses in that country we disgraced—as the Arabs used to say—a beautiful creature which was born, in their opinion, only for saddle purposes. To break them to the harness, to have them pull wagons or carriages, they considered such a disgrace that they would have preferred not to sell their horses to the new immigrants. But, tempted by money, they quieted their consciences by introducing into the trans-

action a formula by which we would give our word that we would not disgrace the animal by compelling it to pull a wagon or a plow. Now we find thousands of Arab farmers using horses and wagons, using improved machinery, American binders and American harvesters.

The Orange Industry

"Another thing will show you how rapid the development of this country has been. When we came to Palestine thirty years ago, the output of oranges in Jaffa (ancient Yoppa)—the most important harbor of Palestine—was about 60,000 boxes a year, and in the country you could buy oranges very cheap. They used to sell a basket of 100 beautiful oranges for from three to five cents. Nowadays we have developed the industry of orange growing to such an extent that the export was about one and one-half million boxes last year. The prices for oranges in Palestine are quite as high as those in Liverpool and London. We expect inside of five years to develop the output to three million boxes, as all of our orange trees are not in bearing yet, and we expect to have five million boxes of oranges eight years hence.

"There is one slight difference between the coast of California and the coast of Palestine, and this is in favor of the coast of Palestine. In 32 years in Palestine we have not had a single frost near the coast; so that we have never had any loss of orange crops on that account.

"When it comes to the quality of our products, I must say that our wheat brings the best prices in the Italian markets and in Marseilles for macaroni purposes. We cultivate mostly Durum wheat; we have a fine quality of Durum wheat, and get the best prices in southern European markets. When it comes to oranges, I am too subjective and I couldn't tell you with any degree of objectivity what I think of our oranges, but I will take the liberty of telling you how they are appreciated by California experts. Last December I was in Fresno, California, where they had a convention of the Fruit Growers' Associations of California, and Mr. Chapman of Fullerton, considered to be the most successful orange grower in California, read a paper on citrus culture. He began his paper by saying: 'We in California raise the

best oranges,' etc.—you know how these sentences run in California—and when he was through he stopped for applause. He looked at me. I shook my head, because I didn't agree with him in everything he said. He stopped a while and said: 'When I wrote this paper I did not expect to have this gentleman from Palestine here.' 'But,' he continued, 'a neighbor of mine, an orange grower from Fullerton, when he came back from Palestine two years ago, said to me: "Chapman, you have never tasted a good orange, for you have never tasted a Jaffa orange." And the same tale could be repeated when it comes to the introduction and development of the wine industry, almond culture, etc.

Methods Adapted to Conditions

"I have taken the liberty to dwell on these details in order to show you what Jewish immigration and Jewish agricultural colonization has done in reference to the development of the whole country, but as I told you in the beginning, we did not know the local conditions when we started. We had no agricultural traditions, no agricultural routine, and maybe that was our salvation. We had to study conditions, in order not to go into this undertaking blindly, and had to inquire what were the best methods. And in order to get knowledge of the best methods our parents supposed that the most sensible thing would be to send us to European colleges. Those sent there got a certain book knowledge of agriculture. Every one was a very wise agriculturist when he left the college. He had a big diploma testifying to his wisdom, and we returned to Palestine and tried to introduce all the methods that we saw applied in Germany, France and Italy. We did not stop to consider that methods have to be adapted not only to climatic conditions or soil conditions, but must be adapted especially to the peculiar psychology, to the anatomy of the farmer who is going to use them. You cannot expect the Russian farmer to use the same methods as an American or German or French farmer. Every one has methods adapted to his peculiar mentality, to his ways of living. In order to solve the same problem, the French, German or American farmer will each use his own methods. We tried to copy, to ape Europe, and we had failure after

failure. This was in fact really well deserved.

"When we saw that our methods did not work, we began to look a little deeper into the matter, and to inquire into local conditions. We saw that our salvation could be worked out only by rational, scientific methods, although we had to go at it ourselves, without any aid from the government, without the aid of any institution. Think of what it means to a handful of Jewish farmers to work out a geological survey of the country and a botanical survey of the country; to establish stations to do the work done in every other country by the government.

"We had to introduce a number of new crops in the country and to study the crops that we already had. When we began to look into the methods of the farmers of Palestine, we discovered that notwithstanding the fact that they were very primitive and crude—our native farmers still used the plows in use two or three thousand years ago, the Arab plow of today is of the same pattern as the plow engraved in stone in Egypt—the native farmers had a certain routine, a knowledge of things they had learned by rote. This routine was the result of local experience, repeated for thousands of years in that country, and deserving of attention. When we tried to introduce improved varieties from other countries they did not always succeed, because they came from countries where the climatic conditions were too far different from our own. When we began to study the adaptability of our plants to the trying local climatic conditions, we got the conviction that our native varieties, having been cultivated there for thousands of years, had had time to adjust themselves to those conditions, and as soon as we improved the mechanical way of handling the soil our native varieties were better able to take advantage of the soil so prepared than varieties coming from abroad. As soon as we introduced better methods of preparing the seed bed we had wonderful results. I will take the liberty of telling you of some of the results. We consider this fact is very important for agriculturists, practically all over the world.

Wearing Out the Soil

"We have heard here that, even in the United States, which is a very young

country, agriculturally speaking, that in New England, for instance, there are abandoned, worn-out farms—abandoned because the soil is worn out. Our human presumption and vanity leads us to say, 'Here is a soil to prepare which nature has worked thousands and thousands of years, and in thirty or forty years of agriculture we have worn it out; we are so powerful in our methods that we can destroy in thirty years what it took nature thirty or one hundred thousand years to produce.' We may thus please our vanity, but it is not true. We are not capable of destroying to such an extent the productivity of the soil. It is as much of a presumption on our part as if we were to assert that in breathing the atmosphere for thousands of years we have spoiled it and it is no longer good for breathing purposes. We can vitiate the air in confined localities for a short while, but ventilation will restore to it all the breathing qualities that it had before. It seems to me that the same is true in reference to the soil. By properly preparing the soil, by having physical conditions as they should be—and we must confess that scientifically we do not yet know exactly what the proper physical conditions of the soil are—and by developing rational methods of handling soils, we will be able to restore the fertility of the soil without the addition of medicines or chemical fertilizers.

"If we take into consideration the fact that the soil is not as it was regarded even a very few years ago, an inert substratum, but that it is, on the other hand, full of bacteria, of fungi, and that these microscopic fauna and flora represent a living world, the life of which is very intense; if we consider this and study what conditions are necessary to stimulate the life of this flora and fauna, we will have in them powerful auxiliaries, helping to maintain the fertility of our soils far better than any chemical agent or product can.

Experiments to Improve Soil

"For our experiment station in Palestine we selected one spot in the country which is renowned all the country over for its sterility. We supposed that if we succeeded in demonstrating that, by purely rational handling of the soil, without any chemical fertilizer or any barn manure, just by improvement of the

physical conditions of the soil; if we succeeded with soils that were cultivated four thousand or six thousand years continually without the addition of any manure or any chemical fertilizer; if we succeeded in demonstrating the advisability of new rational methods of handling the soil, this would be a demonstration not only for Palestine but for other countries where agriculture has been practiced for a much less time. It would take me too long to describe here how we did it. We took very large experiment fields, demonstration plots. We did not satisfy ourselves in demonstrating on three or four square feet, but we took parcels of ten or fifteen acres, which is the average field of our Palestinian farmers. By applying rational methods of so-called 'dry farming,' so well known in the United States, by plowing better, by harrowing oftener, we succeeded in producing on our demonstration fields six and one-half times as much wheat as on the fields of our neighbors; fourteen times as much barley, and twenty-three and one-half times as much oats. So you see, without going to the expense of introducing medicine, the effect of which may be very dangerous to the soil, in using the same implements our neighbors used, by expending on the soil the same efforts our neighbors expended, we succeeded in improving its productivity to that extent. This, it seems to me, disposes of the question of worn-out and sterile soils.

"We have had great trouble with wheat culture in Palestine, and we began to study the question, 'Why does wheat not stand drought, certain diseases, and so on?' As I told you, the Jewish agriculturalists in Palestine come from all over the world, and the Jews are often reproached for being so cosmopolitan. In Palestine we take an altogether different attitude from the attitude of most of our brethren the world over. We admit that some of the reproaches laid to us are well founded; we admit that the Jew in fact has certain characteristics of his own; he has a mentality that is different from his neighbors; he has a psychology different to a certain extent; we admit that there is a certain Jewish segregation, caused by discrimination against our race. But instead of taking offense and carrying it passively as a burden, we try

to develop these peculiarities and properties to their highest efficiency, because we believe that in bringing out in every individual, or in every race, to the highest possible degree, worthy qualities and attributes, we make the individuals and the race the better and the world the richer. Jews are cosmopolitans, they say. Well, we are very proud of that fact. Being cosmopolitan enables us to see the necessities not only of one region or of one country, the necessities of one people or of one race, but to look at every question from a broad, humane, cosmopolitan view.

Broad Study Basis of Experiments

"When we took up the question of wheat culture we tried to find out the conditions of wheat culture the world over, and studied the question from every point of view. We had to find a satisfactory answer to questions which busied scientists and philosophers for centuries, namely: 'What is the origin of the wheat culture? Where did it begin? Where does it come from?' We are so used to seeing wheat that we forget that wheat culture must have begun in a certain country. We forget to ask ourselves, in respect to every one of the plants that we are accustomed to and familiar with, 'What was their original state? How did our prehistoric ancestors discover them, and in what situation were they when they were discovered?'

"In the case of wheat, the idea was widespread that our prehistoric ancestors had in fact created it. In other words, they very probably started a very inconspicuous grass, looking like hundreds of thousands of species of other grass. They took this grass—botanists supposed that it was a kind belonging to the genus *Aegilops*—and through thousands of years of progressive development created the wheat which has the wonderful qualities that you know about. In other words, *civilization created the wheat*. This again satisfies our human presumption; but when you begin to think of it, it seems impossible, because it would have taken such a wonderful power of divination on the part of our prehistoric ancestors to pick out one grass and find out that this grass had such possibilities. Why did we not succeed in doing the same with the hundreds of thousands of

other species of grass that the botanists have discovered since? But here again—no matter how much it may hurt our vanity—we must conclude that *the cereals created civilization, and that civilization did not create the cereals.*

Hardy Wheat Found in Arid Regions

"In trying to trace back the history of the culture of wheat, everything pointed to the presumption that wheat is a plant originally from dry, arid regions and that it has little by little developed and migrated to more humid countries. If you take, for instance, the history of the selection of wheat and the improvement of wheat culture in the last 100 to 150 years, you will see that the first country where the selection of wheat and the improvement of wheat varieties began in more or less scientific ways was England, 130 or 150 years ago. A little later when in France they began to develop agriculturally, their first idea was to introduce improved varieties from England. When they tried to introduce the improved varieties from England to the more dry parts of France, they could not succeed, whereas, later, when in southern France they developed new varieties, the varieties developed in the arid regions had such a vigor and resistance that they could spread to the northern limit of wheat culture in France, and they even traveled across the channel and were adopted in England. We always found that the varieties of the dry regions in which wheat is cultivated, if transported to more humid regions, are still harder than the varieties developed in the humid countries, when brought back to the arid regions.

"So we got the idea that the cultivated wheat was in fact a rather degenerated plant, carried away from its cradle for thousands of years. Varieties developed under local conditions in various countries of Europe could no longer grow in dry regions, because they were trained too much to artificial conditions. You know that this fact applies even here. You know that in the drier parts of your country, in the western states here, it was very difficult to cultivate wheat as long as you tried to bring over varieties from the eastern states. The so-called Durum wheat, cultivated in the United States in such large quantities, came to you from southern Russia, from Tur-

key, Asia Minor and the more arid regions. Only 18 years ago, I am told, the hard, or Durum, wheat was unknown on your market here in Chicago; last year the production of Durum wheat in the United States was over 40,000,000 bushels. Hard wheat showed more hardness, more resistance, and therefore we began to consider, 'Where could the cradle of the hard wheat have been?'

Wild Wheat Discovered.

"I undertook researches for a number of years and found nothing. I was always looking for some inconspicuous grass that would be able to produce flour. But after a while I gave up the idea and began to wonder if there were not grasses so similar to cultivated wheat that it would be difficult to distinguish between cultivated and wild wheat. As soon as I began to work on this hypothesis, I noticed wheat growing wild in the crevices of rocks, where there was shallow and unfertile soil, and the remarkable thing was that this wild wheat had heads as large as the cultivated wheat; that the kernels were double the length and twice as heavy as the cultivated wheat of California, for instance. So you see that the cereals have created civilization, and the wheat has improved but little under cultivation.

"When I made the announcement of my discovery of wild wheat to the scientific world and sent specimens to different museums, this discovery was considered by all botanists as being of high scientific and botanical importance. The new discovery that wheat grows wild in Palestine, the fact long known to botanists that the prototype of cultivated barley grows wild in Palestine, the fact that we have wild oats of our own in Palestine and that wild rye grows in the mountains of Palestine, the fact that we have in Palestine the progenitors, the prototypes of the four most important cereals of the old world, has, in my opinion, a very important meaning. When we considered that these cereals grow wild in that country, that they existed there from time immemorial, that our prehistoric ancestors found them growing wild, we were bound to conclude that this part of the world was the cradle of cereals; and in tracing the migration of civilization and our modern agriculture, based on the development of the cereals,

we determined that this was the starting point. This view has been adopted by scientific men all the world over.

Can Wheat Stock Be Improved?

"After a while I went a little further and spoiled the whole situation. I began to think, 'Having a wild, very hardy, very resistant wheat, how easy it could become a boon to humanity.' Wheat requires very artificial conditions for its growth. You have to prepare the soil in a certain way, increase the fertility of the soil, keep out the spontaneous vegetation, that which the farmer calls 'weeds,' because this plant cannot stand the struggle for life. You have to prepare artificial conditions and then still depend much on the weather, on meteorological conditions. So it is very hard to get a paying crop, and that is what makes wheat so expensive. Then, having this wild wheat growing—as was shown by our studies year after year of the life history of this wheat—having a wild stock growing in regions where we have only six or eight inches of rain, and knowing that domesticated wheat can be grown only where there are thirteen or fourteen inches of rain; having a wheat which can successfully struggle with all kinds of other weeds around it, and still grow and produce very heavy heads, heavy kernels of wheat, why could we not take advantage of this wild stock and try to domesticate it, try by our scientific methods of breeding and crossing species, to produce new strains of cultivated wheat having, on the one hand, the characteristics of the wild stock and, on the other hand, all the qualities of the cultivated wheat?

"We have noted that our wild wheat is very resistant to certain diseases. For instance, in the valley of the Rhine, where the farmers every year lose millions of marks on account of moisture in the atmosphere and rust diseases, we have tried our wild wheat for four years consecutively and have not had any rust attack our plants. Now think of what it would mean to the farmers of that region to have a strain of wheat possessing high rust-resistance in addition to the properties of their local varieties!

Possibilities in United States

"According to the Mendelian theories, we can combine the properties of different species or varieties of plants in such

a way as to have disease resistance or drought resistance, etc., as hereditary characteristics. Why, then, should we not take advantage of this wild stock and try to domesticate it and improve wheat culture? I must confess, when I first gave out this idea, nobody liked to follow me in this field, and the so-called experts at that time—especially in the old world—considered this idea, to put it mildly, a crazy one. It was very fortunate for me personally and, I hope, for the whole science of the culture of wheat, that your Department of Agriculture at Washington had bright men, thinkers, not at all afraid of new, advanced ideas. One of these men, Mr. Fairchild, who is in charge of the office of Seed and Plant Introduction, put himself in touch with me in Palestine. He asked me to come here and to study the conditions in the United States and the possibilities of improving the cultivation of wheat by the introduction of wild wheat in the United States. I came here about three and a half years ago, and immediately had the backing not only of all the scientific experts of the Department of Agriculture, but of most scientists in the whole country wherever I came in touch with them.

"I went all over your continent to study agricultural conditions, especially in the dry regions, and I discovered not only that it would be beneficial for the United States to introduce wild wheat, but in fact that it would be very beneficial for you to try to adapt to your arid and semi-arid West most of the local varieties, wild and domesticated, from this old country of ours, Palestine, where, as I have told you, all the cultivated plants are very ancient ones, established thousands of years ago, adjusted to the arid, dry conditions of that country.

"That is a work we began about three and a half years ago in collaboration with the Department of Agriculture. Thanks to the moral support of the scientific men of the United States, we got some of the leading Jews in America, men like Mr. Julius Rosenwald of Chicago, Mr. Jacob H. Schiff of New York, and others, interested in this work, and they enabled us to create in Palestine the Jewish Agricultural Experiment Station, an American institution supported by Amer-

ican money. There we are working in collaboration with your Department of Agriculture, trying, on the one hand, to introduce in Palestine your methods and your improved varieties, and, on the other hand, sending over from our country to your Department the varieties which we consider beneficial for the development of agriculture in your country, in order that they may be propagated all over the land.

The Future Hopeful

"You appreciate that such a work requires a long series of years. We cannot speak of achievements in this field in the short period of three or four years, but we are gratified in being able to say that so far our experiments with wild wheat and domesticated wild wheat and their hybrids have given hopeful re-

sults. Scientific men hold that we are more than justified in hoping that in practically a very short period we will be in a position to give the world better, more resistant varieties of wheat, wheat of greater productivity in regions where wheat cultivation is possible now and susceptible of cultivation over a larger belt of the semi-arid and arid regions, not only in America, but in Egypt, Syria, Palestine, in northern Africa, in Turkestan; indeed, all the world over. In other words, we hope to be able very soon, by continuing the experiments made in Palestine and repeated by your experimental stations, to produce varieties which will increase the production of wheat. In other words, we hope to help solve a social problem, making bread more common and less expensive." (Applause.)

NON-PARTISAN ELECTION OF MUNICIPAL OFFICERS

House bill 501, now pending in the state Legislature, providing for the non-partisan nomination and election of municipal officers, was discussed at a meeting of the City Club, May 3, 1913. Mr. Robert McMurdy, chairman of the City Club Committee on Political Nominations and Elections, presided. The speakers were Kellogg Fairbank, secretary of the Municipal Voters' League; Eugene U. Kimbark, formerly president of the Association of Commerce; Judge John P. McGoorty of the Circuit Court; Alderman William F. Lipps, Hon. John O'Connor, state senator; Judge William E. Dever, of the Superior Court, and Hon. Medill McCormick and Hon. Morton D. Hull, members of the Illinois House of Representatives. The chairman spoke as follows:

Mr. Robert McMurdy

"We have met today to consider the principle of the non-partisan nomination and election of municipal officers. The City Club Committee on Political Nominations and Elections, of which I am chairman, has indorsed this principle and has also considered carefully and, with the approval of the directors, indorsed, subject to a few amendments, a bill prepared by the corporation coun-

sel's office and pending in the General Assembly at this time. The details of the bill will be discussed by the speakers. I may say, however, that the bills under consideration do include primaries as well as elections, and do not cover the election of municipal judges.

"The question of the non-partisan election of judges stands on a little different footing constitutionally than the question of electing other municipal officers. I am very glad to say, from information derived by me in an official connection, from one of the lawyers' organizations, that whatever may be the fate of the non-partisan movement with reference to other municipal officers, there seems to be a sentiment at Springfield favoring the non-partisan election of judges.

"I wish to say personally, entirely apart from any of the deliberations of the committee or of the directors of the club, that a bill of this kind, purely political as it is, necessarily occasions some whisperings with reference to the motives of the men behind it, and I see no impropriety in speaking plainly upon this question which is whispered among the citizens. To my mind, it matters not whether the ambitions of any man or set of men are involved in the fate of a fundamental measure of this character.

If it is right on principle we may safely go ahead without regard to the influence it may have upon the ambition of any man. I have no word of unfavorable comment against suspicions of the character I have mentioned, for the intelligent suspicions of the citizen are the safety of the republic, and in this matter, as in all other matters, eternal vigilance is the price of true liberty." (Applause.)

The chairman introduced as the first speaker, Mr. Kellogg Fairbank, secretary of the Municipal Voters' League.

Mr. Kellogg Fairbank

"I suppose all of you are familiar with the mischiefs which come from electing our city officials on national party lines. You have all seen times when good men were defeated and bad elected because they happened to belong to a national political party which was, when the election occurred, on the decline or in the ascendant. At times, because of these great swings in national party sentiment, men lose or gain positions in the Council irrespective of their personal merits and their record.

"There is also the fact that some wards are overwhelmingly addicted to one party or the other, and it has been said that in those wards a yellow dog is sure of election if he can get the nomination of the dominant party. In other wards that is not true, but the fact remains that many voters, who have not taken much interest in the election, will vote for the man upon their party ticket unless they know something affirmatively bad about him. 'Why should I not vote for him?' they say. 'He belongs to my party, and I know nothing against him.' That attitude of mind has resulted in putting up characterless, recordless, weak men who come in by party support, and who, once in, are subject to a considerable extent to the control of those who have the party machinery in their hands. The party leaders will call up this alderman or that alderman and ask him to be with a certain measure in the Council, and he feels that his personal political strength is so little and the political strength of the leader in that ward is so great that it would be well for him to comply with that request.

Partisan Committee Appointments

"Another mischief is this—that when the committees of the Council are made

up, party demands are very often made the basis of committee appointments. We have seen instances where excellent men, elected to the Council as independents, were sidetracked because they lacked party support, and put on inferior committees, in places of very little responsibility, although they were able to fill places of great responsibility.

"The backbone of party organization today is patronage, and a good deal of that patronage is in the shape of sinecures. There are fellows on the pay roll whose greatest activity is political activity, and who are not rendering equivalent service to the public for the salaries they get. Those men are instruments in nominating men under a party system, and it ill behooves those who are nominated with their assistance to make inquiry as to whether they are earning their salaries.

"What betterment can we hope for? We cannot get a system that will be automatic. We have got to stay in the game and keep working to get results. We cannot eliminate the parties, even if this proposed bill becomes a law. The parties will still be with us, for they are the organizations that carry elections, and ambitious candidates will go to them for support. But we can eliminate the straight party ticket. Many voters vote that sort of a ticket from habit, and others from loyalty to the party. Some have a definite expectation of party office or party favors, others an indefinite expectation that some day they may want something and they do not want to be on the party books as having bolted a party nomination.

Straight Voting Can Be Stopped

"We can reduce this straight voting by stopping party nominations for city offices, by removing the party column from the municipal ticket, and by removing party labels. The bill which was recommended by the City Council to the Legislature, and which is under discussion here, does those things. It provides a primary, at which candidates for aldermen, to go on the ballot, must file petitions, signed by two per cent of the voters. There is no party designation, and the names are rotated on the ballot so that no one has the advantage of position. Any man who gets a majority of all the votes cast at the primary is

elected to the office without further balloting. But if no man gets a majority, the two highest men come to a second election thirty days later and go on the ballot without any party designation or in any party column.

"What is the result? Since the parties have no nominees—no man being able to claim that he is the Democratic, the Republican, or the Progressive nominee—the question of party loyalty and regularity does not arise. No man is disloyal to his party because he votes for one candidate rather than another, and therefore the straight ticket voters are free to choose the best man on the ticket. That may not influence a very large number of voters, but, in my judgment, it will influence several hundred voters in every ward, enough in many cases to be a controlling factor and to turn the tide one way or another.

Prospects of the Bill

"What is the prospect of getting this bill through? The bill was reported favorably by the City Council, with only nine adverse votes, and is now in committee in the Legislature. Down-state people are not opposed to this non-partisan idea. Already in many cities under commission rule there is no party label on the ticket. In many small towns the people vote on non-partisan lines. We can expect aid from these sources. The Legislature is more subject to public sentiment at this time than it has been for a long time. We believe that public sentiment in Chicago favors such a bill as this, and if we can show the Legislature that this is the case, there is good reason to believe such a bill will be passed." (Applause.)

Eugene U. Kimbark, former president of the Association of Commerce, spoke as follows:

Mr. Eugene U. Kimbark

"Personally, it has never occurred to me that there was more than one side to this question. Ever since I was old enough to think about such things I have always considered it wrong that there should be party tickets in municipal affairs. Non-partisanship in municipal administration is, it seems to me, just as fundamental as the fact that we must always tell the truth and that we must not steal.

"I don't know that I can place this matter any more clearly or succinctly before you than by quoting what the Association of Commerce has done—something which I believe has in a measure had something to do with bringing this matter to a focus.

Mayor Favors Idea

"The Association of Commerce gives every year what is called its municipal dinner. To this dinner are invited as guests our city executives, as well as the aldermen. At our dinner last December over sixty aldermen were present, many city executives and the mayor. During the course of the dinner I turned to Mayor Harrison, and said: 'I would like to say what I really think about our municipal affairs. I would like to say something about a non-partisan administration. Would you take offense?' He said: 'Go as far as you like, you cannot hurt my feelings.' So I said in my address—I am reading now from a report of the meeting:

"I cannot harmonize city government and partisan politics. I cannot feel that any man should be elected to city office because of party affiliation. He should be chosen for a position because he is qualified for it, and not because of his political attachments. Party politics should have no place in municipal affairs. With as good an administration as we have today, our faults are due to our system and not to our executives. I am living in the perhaps forlorn hope that public sentiment will some time arrive at this conclusion. Meanwhile the men who are carrying our executive burdens are entitled to our sympathy and aid. The work of Chicago's executives is complicated and difficult beyond the belief of a citizen who is not familiar with what is going on. The work would be hard enough without any political complications.

"In the mayor's address he said:

"I personally will welcome the day and I will go as far as any man in this organization in bringing about a condition that will make men, when they run for any public office, stand absolutely upon their own merits; and I believe that when that time is reached you will have gone far toward establishing as a permanency good municipal government, as far as it will be possible to go.

"The mayor showed his interest in this matter by preparing the bill of which Mr. McMurdy spoke. His message in connection with it reads as follows:

"The city is a mighty business corporation. Its management should be in the

hands of men who, by reason of native ability, nurtured by experience, are capable of solving its complex problems and directing its varied agencies to the best interest of the plain citizen.

"On February 15, again before the Association of Commerce, the mayor took up this matter, and he said:

"I wish to supplement what has been said by your last president, Mr. Kimbark, at your municipal dinner, and say that I believe Chicago will never have the kind of municipal government it should have, and that no community can have the kind of municipal government it should have, until officers of a purely municipal character are elected on their own merits, on their own ability and honesty and efficiency, without the tag of any political party to boost them into office.

"The mayor again refers to this matter in his message to the Council.

"Now I am one of those who firmly believe that Mayor Harrison is sincere in this matter. I have had a good deal to do with the mayor in the last two years. I was unknown to him at the time he took office, but I have come to believe that he is an honest and sincere official, and I believe that in making these statements he is entirely sincere." (Applause.)

Judge McGoorty of the Circuit Court was the third speaker. He said:

Hon. John P. McGoorty

"When the invitation was extended to me to say a few words to this meeting, I hesitated for a moment and then I considered the fact that while the members of the judiciary are presumed to be separated from political influence and that while they should not take part in political affairs, it is entirely proper for a judge to take part in what is essentially a non-political movement. I felt that my conclusion must be correct, inasmuch as the city's policy in this regard had already been fixed, so far as it might be, by the City Council and the mayor.

"I recall that in the Seventeenth Ward for years there were elected side by side in alternating years a Democrat and a Republican, showing that in that ward the people used discrimination and judgment. The Democrat whom they selected for so many years is one of our guests today, the Hon. William E. Dever, judge of the Superior Court.

A Forward Step

"While the bill before the Legislature providing for non-partisan municipal

elections may not seem ideal in one regard—and that is in providing for a primary followed by an election instead of nominations by petition—it is a forward step. It may be said in favor of the primary feature that it provides for a sifting process, a process of elimination. The voters nominate two men for alderman, and then have the right to exercise their choice as between the two.

"I take it to be the purpose of this meeting to crystallize public sentiment so effectively that it may induce the present General Assembly to bring about the enactment of this bill. As there seems to be such a general consensus of opinion that federal questions and the federal plan of electing officials should not apply to municipal affairs, it should not be necessary to do more than convince the Legislature that this great city, with all of its complex problems, should have its affairs administered by men chosen regardless of any consideration other than those of civic interest, of ability and of merit." (Applause.)

Alderman William F. Lipps of the Twenty-sixth Ward spoke next.

Ald. William F. Lipps

"I do not know that I am qualified from all angles to discuss a question of this kind, but in so far as my own ideas and the ideas of some of the prominent citizens of the territory which I represent are concerned, we favor the principle of non-partisan municipal elections, believing that non-partisanship will tend to the betterment of political conditions in our own territory and throughout the community as a whole. Having such a result, it ought to be supported by those who believe in better government.

"The idea of the elimination of party certainly does not appeal to all loyal partisans, but wherein does the party bring forth anything for the betterment of local conditions in our local elections? We have those who say non-partisanship would eliminate party organization. I do not agree with that theory, for non-partisanship is not intended to apply generally in national affairs, but only in municipal affairs. In that sense I heartily indorse the idea.

Party Responsibility a Myth

"We have applied that theory in some measure in the territory from which I

hail. We could not apply it as a whole. There are those who oppose the idea of non-partisan elections with the argument that it would destroy party responsibility for the candidate. To that I would say this: I would like to have them point out to me or to anyone else wherein a party stands sponsor for a candidate. I have never known the time when a personal or guaranty bond has been put up, guaranteeing either the efficiency of the candidate or his honesty. You have nothing pledged but the party faith. To my notion, non-partisan elections would tend to fix the responsibility of the individual candidate to his constituency rather than to the party leader, or so-called party 'boss.'

"There are some constituencies wherein it is not true that the party leader dictates how the candidate should vote. I have never known the time when a party committeeman or leader in my ward has approached me with the idea that I should vote one way or the other on a public question. On the other hand, I know that the same is not true in some parts of the city, and therefore I tend to the idea of non-partisan municipal elections, believing they will help to correct this evil.

"The idea of party prejudice being involved in an election on a local issue is to my mind the height of folly. Any man will admit that the candidate should be a man who is honest and efficient, and yet some men will say: 'This man is not a member of my party, and therefore I cannot vote for him.' It comes down to a point whether you want efficiency or party elections. Party elections in city affairs bring you nothing, neither does this bill destroy parties in national affairs.

Would Nominate by Petition

"As to the particular bill now under consideration, personally I would go further. I would eliminate party primaries altogether, if I had my say about it, and nominate by petition. I would require a sufficiently large number of signers to nominating petitions to guard against getting too many nominees on the ticket. If a man cannot secure five per cent—or even more—of the citizens of his ward or district to sign a petition he should not have a place on the ballot. If that provision were made and voters were barred

from signing more than one petition, I think too large a number of candidates could be guarded against.

"There are those who say it is necessary to have a primary unless you are to elect candidates by plurality rather than by majority. There are very few persons holding county offices who were elected by a majority vote. The mayor of this city was not elected that way; there are very few members of the City Council who were. The governor of this state did not have a majority vote, neither did the present executive of the United States. So that if we are to adopt the idea that we must have a majority vote to elect a man, we will have to provide for continuous elections until some candidate has received a majority." (Applause.)

Hon. John O'Connor, state senator from the Twenty-Ninth District, Chicago, was called upon.

Hon. John O'Connor

"I do not know that I ought to make a talk here today, because I will have to vote on this bill, and I have not made up my mind about it. I have no opinion on this bill. I have thought it over a little. I was called up last Thursday at Springfield and asked if I would be here today, and I said I would. I have tried to get a few ideas as to what to say, but we are exceptionally busy at Springfield and have very little time. The committee on which I am working now is in session every night until twelve o'clock.

"As I said, I have no opinion on this proposition, but I have a few ideas and I will give them to you, because maybe you can set me right before a vote comes up on Mr. McCormick's bill. From what I have been able to learn, I am not in favor of the idea. I believe that if we had a short ballot the people of this state, with the assistance of such bodies as the Municipal Voters' League, would pick out the good men. A few days ago we had an aldermanic election here. We did not select all Republicans or all Democrats. In one strong Democratic ward in this city a Republican was elected. I don't know the gentleman personally, but he had been in the Council and made a good record. You will find all over the city conditions such as Judge McGoorty mentioned in the Seventeenth Ward,

where they always have a Republican and a Democrat, and they pick them out because they are the best men.

Parties Here to Stay

"Now, I don't believe you can eliminate party, whether you want to or not. I understand it is not the purpose of this bill to eliminate parties and it has been contended that it will not do so. I have my doubts on that proposition. I don't care what you call them, you are bound, in my opinion, to have two dominant parties, whether you call them 'citizens' parties,' 'people's parties,' or something else. I think it is a good thing to have two parties. If you have an opponent, it puts you on your mettle. I believe that parties are the right thing.

"I don't believe a man should be elected to the City Council or the state Legislature because he is a Democrat or a Republican. I believe you ought to pick out the best men. At Springfield—in the Senate, at least, I know this is true—in ninety-nine per cent of the votes taken you do not know whether the members voting are Republicans or Democrats. Most of the men down there, I believe a big majority, are trying to do the best they can. If you will look over the roll calls you will find that you will not know who is Republican or who is Democrat. The members individually try to vote right on those bills.

"A year or two ago, in the fall, we elected eleven judges—I think Judge McGoorty was elected then—six Republicans and five Democrats. We elected them because they were the best men.

Short Ballot Needed

"You can always pick out the good men if you have the short ballot. This great blanket ballot is the thing we have to contend with. You put a presidential candidate's name at the top of the ticket, and then you have a great list of electors, beside all the other candidates to vote for. Get rid of this long ballot and you will simplify matters.

"The chairman stated that down-state you would not have any opposition. I think you will. Last session the proposition of eliminating minority representation was up, and I voted in favor of elimination. One of the down-state senators said: 'We are Republicans or Democrats down here, and I am against it.'

You will find some of them down in the state, just as you do here in Chicago.

"As I have already stated, I have no fixed opinion on this bill. I am glad I am here, not because I have anything to say, but because if you people think I am wrong you may set me right, so I will know how to vote when this bill comes up. I am very glad to come here because I think most of you are on the other side. Possibly I may vote for this bill. I thank you." (Applause.)

Following Senator O'Connor, Judge Dever of the Superior Court spoke.

Hon. William E. Dever

"Judge McGoorty has referred to our political situation in the Seventeenth Ward and Senator O'Connor has referred to the same instance. I have a very intimate knowledge of what has happened over there in the last ten or twelve years, particularly as to the conduct of the various political organizations in aldermanic campaigns. There were times when I ardently hoped that all of the political organizations might, at least for the season, be destroyed. I found in my own case that my real troubles occurred within the party ranks. I always felt, in my fights over there—and there were thirteen of them in which I was personally involved as a candidate—that if I could handle the organization, if I could predict what would happen at the primaries, I could come pretty close to knowing whether I would win or lose the election.

Parties Dominate Through Nominations

"In other words, the active domination of party organization finds its most potent expression not in the list of candidates the voter has to select from on election day, but in the selection of the nominees or persons whose names may be placed upon the election ballot. I think that at that point one can discover the real objection to the activity of political organizations in municipal politics. The trouble is that they select our candidates for us. The well-oiled political machine is able to select the candidate for whom you must vote, and on election day you have, in most instances, the privilege of selecting between the products of the different political organizations.

"I don't know that I have any conviction as to what sort of a bill should

be passed. As I have listened to the various speakers, I have been impressed with the fact that the character of the legislation is a matter of high importance. Fundamentally, most of us are in favor of eliminating party organization altogether from municipal affairs, but, after considerable experience, I am led to believe that it would be rather dangerous in both the aldermanic as well as in the general city elections to select officials at a single election without a primary. I have known occasions in this city where the bi-partisan managers of the great political organizations have secretly agreed upon the election of a certain man for a particular office, for alderman or for mayor, and then have been able to elect him by frittering away the strength of the opposition by securing the nomination of many different opposition candidates, thus dividing the opposing vote over a large field." (Applause.)

The chairman next introduced Medill McCormick, representative from the Twenty-ninth Senatorial District, who introduced the bill under discussion.

Hon. Medill McCormick

"For a generation—for as long at least as I can remember anything about Chicago politics—we have talked about non-partisan city elections in Chicago, and local students of European municipalities have envied them their elections, which are based on issues essentially local, peculiar to the cities themselves and entirely divorced from national partisanship.

"In this country the habit of partisan elections is so strong in the great cities that we cannot hope for reform except through the agency of the law. Many of us who belong to the new Progressive party entered the last municipal campaign with reluctance, conscientiously impelled to the disagreeable course by the not unreasonable declination of the old parties to join in making none but independent, non-partisan nominations for the City Council. We were criticised for so doing, and I will not say the criticism did not hurt, for in a sense our course seemed to be in opposition to the platform which we had adopted. I hope that we shall never have to do so again, for general public opinion in Chicago can secure the passage of the City Council's non-partisan municipal election bill.

"When the mayor and Mr. Sexton asked me to introduce this bill I told them that I thought it was a long way from a perfect bill; that, indeed, a very much better bill might be drawn, and such is the opinion of some of the most active officers of the Municipal Voters' League. But they were agreed, and we were agreed, that, all things considered, no better bill could be passed at this session. There are experienced and able critics who would have obviated the primary entirely and nominated the candidates to election by petition. There is much to be said for that view, and in smaller cities I would be in agreement with those who hold it; but in a great city like Chicago a primary election—an election for the elimination of the unfit or the unknown—seems to me to be necessary, certainly for the office of mayor, although possibly not for the office of alderman.

Will Develop Campaigns on Local Issues

"I confidently believe that this bill, if it becomes a law, will give us not only abler city servants, but will develop local campaigns on local issues, so that the subway and the tariff, the elevated railway merger and the trusts, local bond issues and conservation need not be joined together as problems uniting men in political groups. It will be possible under this bill, if it became a law, for new, fresh, vital, rational political alignments to be made to meet the exigencies of municipal situations.

"I am proud to have been asked to have done the merely ministerial work of introducing the bill, and I pray that you may work together to secure its passage, for if you do it will become law at this session." (Applause.)

The last speaker was Hon. Morton D. Hull, state representative from the Fifth District, Chicago.

Hon. Morton D. Hull

"I am a doubter. If I could believe what Mr. McCormick has stated, that this bill would lead to a realignment and the real organization of municipal parties, I would not hesitate at all. I would fall in line for the bill. In order to get results anywhere, you know, you must get co-operation, and that means organization—party organization. If we could have party organization in municipal pol-

itics devoted exclusively to municipal questions we would have solved the problem.

"The evil of this situation, as I see it, is that national parties are injected into municipal situations. I do not feel at all sure, however, that the attempt to dissolve national parties in the municipal field will result in the organization of new municipal parties, and that is where I doubt the wisdom of the bill.

"It has been suggested that the city of Chicago is like a great business. It is not like a great business. It is not a great business corporation; it is a political corporation having to do with political questions, questions on which there are just differences of opinion, and those just differences of opinion should be fought out in municipal elections.

Many Kinds of Prejudice Affect Elections

"Now there is another angle to this question. The evil of having national party prejudices injected into municipal elections is well recognized, but if we attempt to do away with national political parties, are we jumping out of the frying pan possibly into the fire? What are some of the other prejudices that may come into the situation? Will campaigns, party politics having been eliminated, be fought out on prejudices of race or prejudices of religion or prejudices that have to do with fraternal organizations and the like? I am afraid that you will not necessarily get the results that Mr. McCormick so confidently hopes for.

"In some of the smaller cities of Illinois, campaigns are fought out without resorting to the party labels of the major parties. In those communities the voters are all well acquainted with the candidates, and there is generally a distinct

local issue—generally the wet and dry issue.

"My opinion on this bill is not entirely formed, and I do not think I can make any other contribution to the meeting." (Applause.)

MR. McCORMICK: "I do not believe that the case against the bill could be put more strongly than it has been put by Mr. Hull, but we have one large experiment to reason from, and that is in London, where local parties, which are liberal and conservative on local questions, have been successfully organized."

Newspaper Domination Result of Non-Partisan Elections?

MR. HULL: "May I have one further word? There have been some cracks taken at political leaders, and I think they are entitled to a good many of them. I do not feel they are entitled to all they get. But I want to suggest another possible evil in this non-partisan program—and that is that the candidate for city office particularly will have to go to the newspapers for support. Now the newspapers have done great service, and they can do great service, but I for one am not willing to exchange *carte blanche* for newspaper domination of the city of Chicago the domination by political leaders. I think we have conspicuously in the city of Chicago now the domination of a particular newspaper in the city government. I personally have great fear that if a bill of this kind is carried into practice we will have too much of that sort of thing. I say that with entire lack of personal feeling in the matter. I have been nicely treated by all of the newspapers, but I don't care whether I am treated well or ill, I do not hold the personnel behind the newspaper office on any higher plane than that in any other walk of life." (Applause.)

BRITISH ELECTIONS

Mr. George Shann, member of the Birmingham Town Council, spoke before the City Club at luncheon, Thursday, May 15, 1913, on "Registration, Nominations, Ballots, Expenses and the Corrupt Practices Act in British Elections." Mr. Joseph R. W. Cooper introduced the speaker as follows:

THE CHAIRMAN—"At this time public sentiment is very generally directed towards improvement in the machinery of our elections. We are seeking a more satisfactory method of testing the popular will on public questions—municipal, state and national. It has long been apparent to observers that the political ma-

chinery now in use is too easily operated for the benefit of the few who have a private and selfish purpose to fulfill. Public sentiment has therefore rebelled and in all parts of the country is putting on the statute books measures which are intended to remedy these conditions. Many cities have adopted a commission form of government. Many states have passed bills for non-partisan municipal and judicial elections, such as are now pending in the Legislature at Springfield. I think in a majority of the states direct primary laws have been enacted. These laws will soon be supplemented by the short ballot, which, I think, is recognized as a necessity and is coming everywhere.

"We have within the past few weeks seen the consummation of the popular will in regard to the direct election of United States senators. It has taken many years to accomplish this reform in spite of the fact that four-fifths of the people of the United States have favored it.

Subject Vital in Illinois

"We are particularly interested now in the election machinery in Illinois because of the pendency in the Legislature of bills for non-partisan municipal and non-partisan judicial elections, for a corrupt practices act and for still further improvement in our direct primary law, all of which, many of us hope, will be passed before the adjournment of the Legislature.

"Now, from our brethren across the sea we have much to learn about the machinery of elections. They have undoubtedly solved there many problems that still menace us in the United States. They have practically divorced municipal matters from their national party issues; they have a corrupt practices act which has effectually stopped many forms of corruption that still prevail here; they have election machinery which undoubtedly brings out a much greater popular response than ours. We are, therefore, particularly fortunate in having with us today a man from the famous city of Birmingham, the chairman of the Labor Party of that city, a man who has been a member of the town council and prominent in the municipal affairs of that great city for many years. I am sure we can learn much from what he may tell us about the operation of the election ma-

chinery in England. It is now my great pleasure to introduce Mr. George Shann of Birmingham." (Applause.)

Hon. George Shann

"Mr. Chairman and Friends: It is somewhat of a surprise to find myself here speaking to an audience of American business men. I came to the United States to see what I could learn as to your educational methods, the wages and working conditions in your industrial world, and to get tips that would help me, in my public career in England, to make things somewhat better there than at the present time. However, I found so much hospitality and kindness in America that I could not help but accept the invitation to return a little of that hospitality by giving you any information that I might have which would be useful to you. I understand that you want me to talk as a practical politician from a practical point of view on the methods of registration and election in England, the constitution of the city council, and incidentally, if there is time, the primary election procedure as well.

"The first thing to keep in mind, in respect to municipal government in England, is that the constitution of all cities is the same. There is one law giving the constitution to all forms of local governing bodies and every group of people, under recent legislation, even a group as small as one hundred persons, has some form of local government, from the administrative counties dealing with large rural areas, up to the large municipalities dealing with the great cities. In recent years there has been a very rapid and wide extension of the powers and duties of the municipalities, a fact which, I suppose, we can take as proving that the public generally in England are well satisfied with the way the municipalities are carrying on their work.

Functions of English City

"The English municipality is the authority for dealing with all forms of public health questions and all forms and grades of education, even to the extent of subsidizing the universities—although at present no municipality directly controls any university. It is the authority over all street work and other public work, and over town planning and housing. Under the town planning act we have authority to determine the lines of

town development, to say what areas shall be built upon for residential purposes and for business.

"Last, but by no means least, the municipalities can control the public utilities, like tramways, electric light and power, water supply, and so on. If there is one outstanding thing in English municipal development at the present time, it is the enormous development of this municipal enterprise dealing with economic services. I think English opinion would agree that, where the municipality has taken over the control of such service, it has always, without exception, been very much to the benefit of the service and of the people who use it. Municipal tramways, electric light and power supplies, and so on, are nearly always very much better managed and are nearly always rendered to the public at a cheaper rate than formerly under private control.

"The question of elections and registration naturally divides itself into two heads; first, the constitution and powers of the city council, and, second, the method of registration and election.

Elective Officers Receive No Salary

"In the first place, we have to remember that in England no elected person, with one exception which I will mention in a minute, receives any salary.

"What I am to say about the constitution of the council would apply to all cities, but I will take Birmingham as an example. Birmingham, which is a city of about 900,000 people; is divided into thirty wards. The number of wards and the number of men elected to the council differ according to the size of the city, the number of councilors being determined largely at the request of the municipality by the privy council under Parliament. In practice a municipality gets pretty much what it wants.

"Birmingham is divided into thirty wards. Each ward elects three councilors, so there is in the first instance a city council of ninety. The members are elected for three years, one councilor retiring each year so there is an election each year. The councilors elect the aldermen. An alderman has no municipal power different from a councilor. The difference between the offices is largely one of social and political prestige. There is the further difference that the alderman is elected for six years in-

stead of three. He can, if the councilors wish, be elected from outside the city council, but in practice the position is usually given to a councilor as a reward for long service. In most cities, the aldermanships are shared out in proportion to the strength of the different parties in the city council, irrespective of whether any political party has the balance of power or not.

Councilors Elect Mayor

"The councilors always elect the mayor of the city, his term being one year. The mayor of an English city council, apart from the prestige of his position, has no more authority in the discussion of business or in executive power than any other member of the city council. He is the chairman of the proceedings and, of course, as the civic head of the municipality exercises certain social prestige. If he happens to be a very strong man, he may have influence, but, generally speaking, he exercises little influence upon English municipal government.

"The mayor is the one exception to what I said when I stated that no elected person can be paid a salary; he may be paid a salary if the council so decides. Very few English cities do pay a salary to the mayor, and, even in those cases, the salary is quite nominal as compared with the cost of administering the social side of the city. In Birmingham, for example, we pay our mayor £1,000 a year and provide him with secretarial assistance and an official motor car and chauffeur to run him up and down the city.

"The mayor, the social head of the community, is the man who has to entertain all visitors to the city. He has to carry out all civic and municipal functions. The lord mayor generally gives a ball to all the prominent citizens after his election and that has to be paid for out of his own pocket, but he, of course, usually exercises a great social influence. He presides at all kinds of gatherings that appeal to him—and of course as a rule has to go down in his own pocket and head the subscription list at the same time. The mayor of a city like Birmingham would find that his salary does not cover his expenses.

How Paid Officials Are Appointed

"The paid officials, the town clerk, the city surveyor, the medical officer of health, the doctors for the schools, and

so on, are appointed by the city council. The city council appoints certain committees to deal with certain branches of the work, and delegates to them certain powers. These committees nominate the particular officials concerned with their respective departments, although the actual appointments are made by full council in public meeting. In practice, too, the officials are very seldom from the city that is making the appointment. There is in England no examination for the municipal official as such. The town clerk, of course, would need to be a solicitor and a medical officer would need to be a doctor, but no examination is demanded. What happens in this: An official obtains an appointment with some small municipality and then, bit by bit, as his work becomes known, he obtains better positions, going from one municipality to another, until at last he obtains a position with one of the big city councils like that of Birmingham and in that way gets the plum that particularly suits him.

"These appointments are made quite independently of party politics in every way. As a matter of fact, the public officials in England are not expected to take any active part in politics. Any public official who did so would be considered to be working against the best interests of the community. Whether that is right or wrong I am not going to say. It is fairly certain that, if any public official were known to associate himself directly with any political party, there would be a tremendous row in the city council.

Qualifications for Office

"In respect to the candidature for the city council, the only qualification is that of a burgess of the city, which is that he has held and occupied a house in the city for twelve months or that he owns certain property and has owned that property for twelve months. Any man who is a burgess is eligible for nomination.

"The election machinery is under the control of the municipal government. The different political parties have nothing to do with it. All elections for the city council are held on the first of November, provided that day is not Sunday. Three or four weeks before the first of November, the mayor in his capacity as returning officer issues public

notices to the effect that the election will take place. The time of the election is set out and the form of nomination paper is printed on the notice, which is posted in public places throughout the city.

Nominations

"Nomination papers may be obtained on application by letter or in person from the lord mayor or the town clerk. They must be signed by ten burgesses and handed to the town clerk by the candidate himself or by one of his proposers or seconders. As a rule, two or three days are allowed for any objections to be made. Any one may examine the papers and file objections; the town clerk and the lord mayor determine as to whether the nomination is valid. In practice, it is very seldom indeed that any objection is made. Occasionally the lord mayor, under the advice of the town clerk does decide that some paper is not proper.

"The nominations having been made, the lord mayor issues a public list of candidates and gives a description on a big poster of what the ballot paper will be like. The ballot is a piece of paper about the size of a sheet of note paper. It has the names of the candidates printed on it, the surname first and then the Christian name, the surnames being printed in alphabetical order and separated from each other by lines. The voter, in casting his ballot, places a cross opposite the name that he selects.

Expense of Elections

"There is just one point I might mention here in respect to the expense of carrying out the election. The official side of the election, of course, the municipality pays for and not the candidate. It would be possible for a candidate to be elected in England without paying out any money at all. Of course, party organizations advertise their own candidate, hold meetings and issue literature, for which, of course, they have to pay. The expenditure that any candidate may undertake is strictly limited according to the number of electors in his constituency. The constituency that I represent has about 5,500 electors and I can spend £72 in attempting to be returned to the city council. My last election actually cost me £52. As a matter fact, not only the amount of money a man can spend, but the details of his expense are deter-

mined by law. He is limited as to the number of people he can pay to help him, the number of messengers, the number of committee rooms he may have. It is also provided that no direct election work shall be done in any saloon or refreshment place. If it became known that a candidate had either directly or indirectly done so, or if it had been done in his interest with his knowledge or without, the election would be declared invalid.

Registration

"We come to the qualifications of the voter. As I have said, all that is necessary in order to get one's position on the burgess list is to occupy property or own property for twelve months, the twelve months being always reckoned from the 15th day of July of one year to the 15th of July of the next year, and the registration is always revised at that date. The revision is undertaken by the municipal officials and a preliminary list is then exhibited in public places for examination. If any person finds that his name is not on that list he can obtain an official form and make application at certain places at advertised times—at night if he cannot attend in the day—to be placed on the registry and an inquiry is then held.

How Elections Are Held

"On the first of November, the list having been made up and location of the booths having been fully advertised, the election is held. As a rule, the election booths are very numerous, no elector having to walk ordinarily anything like a quarter of a mile. In the booth, at a table, there is a presiding officer and clerks, to whom the elector gives his name and his address. If his name is on the list, he is given a ballot paper. This ballot is stamped, and the voter takes it to a separate booth, marks it and puts it in the ballot box. In municipal elections the votes are always taken the same evening and in parliamentary elections nearly always the same evening. The voting having been finished, the ballot papers are taken to some central place and counted. The candidates have a right to be present when they are counted and to appoint two or more agents. Every paper has to be accounted for or the election is invalid and any defeated candidate can lodge a complaint. In

practice, the ballot papers are generally accounted for.

"Nominations are paid for and carried out by the municipality, but in practice they are usually made through the different political parties, as a rule through the two old established parties, the Liberal and the Unionist—or Tory—party. So there are usually in each election two or three candidates, two if the Labor Party does not consider itself strong enough to run a candidate. At the same time it often happens that a man runs as an independent candidate and is returned.

Voting on Non-Party Basis

"Although it may seem as if, in a way, political parties and national political principles dominate municipal elections, it does not work out that way. The voting hardly ever proceeds on party lines, but is rather on a business basis. It is quite common on every question to find cross-voting between the parties, the Labor Party as well as the others. I think it is quite true to say that at the present time in England national party politics do not dominate municipal politics at all.

"In respect to parliamentary politics the methods are almost the same. The burgess list is the same, with one exception, namely, that while in municipal elections women householders can vote, in parliamentary elections they may not. A man and his wife cannot both have a vote in a municipal election, and not all women can vote, but if the house is in the woman's name—if, for instance, she is a widow—she can take part in the election.

"There is also a larger qualification in parliamentary elections. A man who pays a certain amount for his lodgings, if he occupies those lodgings for twelve months, can claim a vote.

"Another feature of parliamentary elections is that the returning officer's expenses must be paid by the candidates. The candidates in no way control the machinery of the election—that is all carried out independently of the parties by the mayor or the clerk of the county council, as the case may be, acting as a presiding officer. But the candidates are responsible for the cost of the election in proportion to their number.

"I have already told you how the corrupt practices act operates in respect to

municipal elections. The same principles apply in parliamentary elections. The total amount of money that may be spent is determined by law in respect to the number of electors. The amount of money that can be spent in certain ways is also defined.

Results of Corrupt Practices Act

"I think we can say that in general the corrupt practices act has eliminated all the grosser forms of corruption in English politics. At the same time I am not sufficiently optimistic to say the corrupt practices act has eliminated all of it. We find now that a great deal of money is being spent by associations not definitely or directly connected with the candidates at all. We have, for instance, a free trade association, a tariff reform association, and then, of course, one big party in England—the Unionist-Conservative party—has always been supported by the drink interest. Even so, there is very little direct corruption for the simple reason that there are in England enough enlightened workingmen who are opposed to the Unionist Liberal party and who know all that goes on.

"The next franchise and registration bill is going to deal with the expenditure of money by societies not directly connected with the candidate. It is also going to control the use of motor cars. Motor cars are a big advantage to the party which can use them; they give all the parties a pull against the Labor Party.

"To show the extreme stringency of the corrupt practices act, Masterman, one of the present under-secretaries of state, in the last parliamentary election failed, through his agent, to make a full return of his election expenses. A certain sum of money which had been spent was not reported. This was brought to the notice of the public prosecutor and although, even if the amount had been declared, Masterman would still have been a long way beneath the amount of money that he could have spent, he lost his seat. The judge has the power to deal with the question of motive and, as there was no corrupt motive in this case, the penalty was simply the loss of the seat. The judge, in such a case, has the power to decide the number of years during which a man cannot sit again. In the case of voters the penalty for corrupt practices of any sort is very heavy. They can have

their franchise taken away from them for a certain number of years. In the last few general elections there have been one or two cases where corruption has been proved, but in general corruption in any gross form, I think, has disappeared.

"It is quite irrelevant, but I would like to say that I have been tremendously interested in one form of municipal enterprise in Chicago and that is your small parks and your social centers in those parks. I have been in every large city of Europe, and I certainly know English local government extensively, but nowhere in the world up to the present time have I seen things so well done in that particular way as in the parks of Chicago." (Applause.)

CHAIRMAN COOPER: "I may add that a corrupt practices act has been introduced in the Legislature by Senator Jones and is now pending. This act contains every stringent provision in the English law which has served so well. If any of you want to exercise any influence in favor of its passage, you may help it along."

A MEMBER: "Are election officers paid?"

MR. SHANN: "The officials who take part in the elections, the polling clerks and presiding officers, are paid, but any man who is so paid cannot vote. In practice, these officers are usually subordinate officials of the municipal departments."

Disfranchisement of Voters

A MEMBER: "Is the provision of the law relating to the disfranchisement of voters for corrupt practices applied only to those who are actually proven to be corrupt or to whole districts?"

MR. SHANN: "As a rule, it applies to the particular voters who are proved to be corrupt, but it is possible under English law to disfranchise a city or constituency. The town of Worcester lost its parliamentary representative."

A MEMBER: "I understood you to say that the signatures of ten property holders could put you in the race for the common council. Does that result in having a great many candidates for each office?"

MR. SHANN: "In practice not at all. In a majority of cities and towns there would not be more than two candidates for municipal positions or three if the Labor Party is strong enough to run its

candidate. In my experience in Birmingham, I can only remember three frivolous candidates. Even if one runs, it does not matter, as nobody votes for him."

A MEMBER: "Under that system, do not the party 'bosses' have control of affairs? If no one can be a candidate unless he is picked by the party, it seems to me that the party leaders would control nominations."

MR. SHANN: "I said in practice it operated that way. Undoubtedly the parties do to a certain extent control the man. The man who comes out as a candidate in the first place receives the approval of his political party, but on the other hand public opinion on municipal matters is generally fairly well decided and unless the party puts out a decent man it loses its position. Then, again, it is always possible—and the procedure is very simple—for an independent party ticket to be put up. It has occasionally happened, where political parties have run the thing, that an independent has succeeded."

A MEMBER: "When you elect a town councilor, do you elect any other officers?"

MR. SHANN: "Each election is separate. If it is a parliamentary election, you are electing a member of Parliament only, and there will be only two or three names on the paper. Municipal elections are distinct from parliamentary elections. The only other election is that of guardians whodeal with destitute people. That election is held at a separate time, but with the same procedure."

A MEMBER: "Are the candidates for each ward designated by a committee made up of representatives of other wards? Do you have one committee in Birmingham for each party?"

MR. SHANN: "In most cases there is a central association for the whole city, which works through the machinery of the constituent committees and then the ward committees."

A MEMBER: "How are those committees chosen?"

MR. SHANN: "That depends on the party. In the Labor Party the members belong to a club and they hold what is called a public adoption meeting. It is advertised that the party is going to run a candidate and the candidate appeals to the meeting for adoption. It would be

difficult in most cases to pack a meeting."

A MEMBER: "Then the members of the club elect the committee?"

MR. SHANN: "Yes."

A MEMBER: "What are the qualifications for membership to the club?"

MR. SHANN: "That varies with the different parties. In the Liberal and Tory parties the qualification for membership is very small. In the Labor Party everybody who has a ballot, subscribes to the principles of the Labor Party and pays the fee of membership, may join. When the campaign actually starts, the parties form what they call an election committee. In practice the political clubs are formed by keen politicians."

A MEMBER: "Does the meeting to which you have referred take the place of what we call direct primaries in this country?"

MR. SHANN: "Yes, I think so; these clubs are the centers from which the political movements spring. There is no doubt that political campaigns are engineered thus through political parties."

A MEMBER: "You elect no municipal officer except councilor?"

MR. SHANN: "No. The councilors elect the paid officials."

A MEMBER: "Are the salaries of the aldermen in these large cities enough to make it an object to work for political preferment?"

MR. SHANN: "Neither the aldermen nor the councilors receive salaries."

A MEMBER: "Who are paid for running the city?"

MR. SHANN: "The town clerk and other officials. The councilors are supposed to be paid by the social prestige. The big business men in each city give a certain amount of their time to this kind of thing. For instance, in Birmingham, the chairmen of the committees which run the tramways, look after the electric lights, etc., are in nearly all cases big business men. Then members of the Labor Party are there to represent the interests of the workingmen. The business men are elected, because they are business men. Nobody gets paid except permanent officials and they are always entirely independent of political parties."

A MEMBER: "Who appoints these permanent officials?"

MR. SHANN: "Suppose there is a

vacancy. First of all, the municipality would advertise that such a position was vacant. Applications would come in and the candidates would appear before the appropriate committee of the council. If the position was that of an engineer for tramways, the candidate would go before the tramways committee, which would go through the list of candidates and finally recommend one. This recommendation would go to a full meeting of the city council. In a report would be set out the qualifications of the selected candidate and of the three or four other candidates. The committee's report would be public property and the council, if satisfied, would adopt it. The council does not always adopt the report, however. I have known a report recommending an appointment to be sent back to the committee, reconsidered and some other appointment made. But the full council never goes past a committee and appoints another man; the utmost the council would do would be to refer the matter back to the committee. That is also true of any big public policy that is being considered. For instance, if tramway organization is being considered, the committee issues a comprehensive report on the subject at least ten days before the council meets. Any member of the council can find out all he wants to know about the matter. But if the council does not agree with the report, it is merely referred back to the committee for further consideration."

A MEMBER: "How long does a paid official hold office?"

MR. SHANN: "As long as he lives, unless he happens to be inefficient. A man once appointed is never removed without cause, it matters not what party is in power. It is the practice of English municipal officials to hold office a long time. A man leaves the service only when he gets the chance of a better place."

A MEMBER: "Who has the power of removing these executive officers?"

MR. SHANN: "The council appoints and the council removes. Usually, when a man is appointed, he is appointed on three months' trial. For instance, there is one city where a medical officer has recently been asked to resign. If an official were found inefficient, the committee would give him the tip that he had

better resign--and that is what he would do. As a rule, the officials are appointed and keep their jobs as long as they are satisfied, unless they get a better position.

"Politics do not enter into their appointment in any way. I think I can say that. I am speaking as a member of the Labor Party and we are somewhat critical of present institutions; I am not speaking as a man who is well satisfied with present-day conditions."

A MEMBER: "Must an alderman be a property holder?"

MR. SHANN: "He must either be a property holder or an occupier of property. Theoretically, he must own property of the annual value of ten pounds. In practice, the amount of property is never considered. As long as you rent a house and pay the rent, you get a vote. Suppose four of you lived in a house having an annual value of £40, and your names were all on the rent book, you can get four votes. Of course, there is a careful examination as to the annual value of the property.

"To be an alderman you must have the same qualification as a voter."

A MEMBER: "Is the Labor Party handicapped very much by not having papers of its own kind?"

MR. SHANN: "I think it is. They have just started a national paper called the *Daily Citizen*. The trade unions in England, representing three and one-half million people, are taking it up, so I think its future is absolutely assured."

A MEMBER: "Does not the lack of a salary for aldermen work as a bar to persons of moderate means holding office?"

MR. SHANN: "I think it does to some extent, but as far as the Labor Party is concerned, it does not operate very strongly. As a rule, we find enough men connected with the Labor Party as trade union organizers and so on, and we can usually nominate them for these non-salary positions. Members of Parliament are paid £400 a year. In practice, a candidate would be run by the Labor Party and the trade unions associated with it. The English Labor Party is a combination of trade unions and Socialists. They have a fair amount of money now."

A MEMBER: "Does the councilor

have to be a resident of the ward where he is elected?"

MR. SHANN: "No. He must be a burgess in the city, but he can run for any ward."

A MEMBER: "Is he usually a resident of his ward?"

MR. SHANN: "He is not usually a resident. If a man is a resident in a ward, it gives him a stronger pull. In general, however, I think it would not be true that he lives in the ward that he represents."

A MEMBER: "How much do women take advantage of the municipal franchise?"

MR. SHANN: "As far as municipal matters are concerned, women do not show any live interest at all. The working women generally vote for the first person that gets hold of them, and the women of the other class vote as a rule with the party to which the men belong. I do not think that the women directly influence municipal elections one way or the other."

A MEMBER: "You speak of ninety councilors in Birmingham and also an additional number of aldermen. What is the total membership of the council?"

MR. SHANN: "The total membership is one hundred and twenty. The alderman, after he is once elected, is exactly in the same position as a councilor, with the exception that he cannot vote for the Lord Mayor. There are thirty aldermen and ninety councilors."

A MEMBER: "Do the aldermen and councilors sit separately?"

MR. SHANN: "No. An alderman, except as I have already indicated, is the same as a councilor. They do not sit as two houses, but meet together and act as one body."

A MEMBER: "The alderman does not represent any ward at all?"

MR. SHANN: "Nominally each man does represent a ward, but the council does business for the whole city."

A MEMBER: "Don't you find a council of the size you mentioned unwieldy?"

MR. SHANN: "No. I don't think we do. A large council enables you to get all interests represented on the

committees. Practically all the men of the council are business men and are not there to waste time. Our city council in Birmingham last year met eighteen times; we started at two o'clock and usually finished by eight, although occasionally the meetings have held until nine. The longest sitting we have had these last two years was seven hours."

A MEMBER: "Is each councilor on some committee?"

MR. SHANN: "Yes, each councilor is on at least two committees. As far as possible, the choice of the councilor is recognized, although that cannot always be done.

"As a rule, the committees are limited in size by resolution of the city council. The parks committee that I am on has twelve members. The education committee has fifty-two. The committees are appointed by a full vote of the council, but in practice nominations are made by an advisory committee appointed for that purpose after the annual election in November. The recommendations of the committee must be approved by a full vote of the council."

A MEMBER: "Does the political party that happens to have the largest number of councilors attempt to control the committees?"

MR. SHANN: "Not in any definite way. It would damage that party's prestige. But if a certain party has a balance of power, it tends to take advantage of the fact."

A MEMBER: "How many qualified voters do you have in your city?"

MR. SHANN: "In my ward, which is fairly representative, there are fifty-five hundred. There are thirty wards in Birmingham, with an average, I think, of six thousand qualified voters per ward—about 180,000.

"The largest number of votes are among the more intelligent people. The percentage of voters is very low in slum areas. On the whole, it is the intelligent people who dominate elections. In my ward I get an average vote of sixty-five to seventy per cent, and some wards get as much as eighty per cent. In parliamentary elections the percentage is always very high indeed."

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The City Club Bulletin

Published by the CITY CLUB OF CHICAGO, 315 Plymouth Court

DWIGHT L. AKERS, Editor

VOLUME VI

SATURDAY, JUNE 28, 1913

NUMBER 10

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ANNUAL MEETING OF THE CITY CLUB

APRIL 19, 1913

The annual meeting of the City Club was held at the Club House, Saturday, April 19, 1913, President Alfred L. Baker in the chair. President Baker opened the meeting with the following remarks:

Alfred L. Baker

"Fellow Members: As you all know, this annual meeting of our City Club is held, not only for the purpose of electing officers for the ensuing year, but it is also the occasion for hearing the reports from the officers of the club of the services which they have rendered during the past year. So far as the services of the President is concerned, he was absent from the city during the past two months but hopes, in some degree, he will be entitled to the merciful benefits of an answer which a celebrated painter once made to one of Chicago's matronly and important women who was having her portrait painted. She urged that the artist do her justice. His answer was: 'It is not justice you want, madam, it is mercy!'

"Perhaps the two most important and far-reaching activities of the club during the past year, were the two comprehensive exhibits, for which great credit is due to the committees and individuals who were charged with their preparation which includes specific praise to our Civic Secretary, Mr. George E. Hooker.

"The first exhibit was held during the early part of last year, and dealt with the transportation problems of the city. It was a most unusual exhibit, unique in its kind, very largely attended and was reinforced by a series of ten public discussions which were participated in by prominent citizens of Chicago and elsewhere, and by experts in the various phases of transportation problems.

"We are now in the midst of our second exhibit, the Exhibit on Housing Conditions, in which also a prize competition was held for the purpose of suggesting methods for the improvement of a quarter-section of land in the outskirts of Chicago. Forty sets of plans (some not entered in the competition) were submitted from fifteen different cities.

"During the last year the club has also published valuable reports, being the result of the investigation and the work of the various committees.

"The Education Committee made a most valuable contribution to the discussion of vocational and continuation schools and embodied their ideas for the introduction of vocational schools in the state of Illinois in the form of a tentative bill which has met with a great deal of approval.

"The Short Ballot Committee summarized the situation in respect to the short ballot in this state, made definite recommendations for legislation and published a report which is the most comprehensive discussion in print on the short ballot in the state of Illinois.

"This club also published a report on Passenger Subway and Elevated Railroad Development in Chicago, by Charles K. Mohler, Consulting Engineer, which is a most valuable contribution to the problem of local transportation in the city.

"Some of the other committees have formulated their ideas in the form of bills and presented them to the Legislature for passage. The Committee on the Administration of Justice has now pending in the Legislature a bill for the non-partisan election of judges.

"The Committee on Municipal Art has submitted to the Legislature a bill providing for enlarged powers for the Municipal Art Commission.

"The Committee on Labor Conditions has submitted to the governor recommendations for the consolidation of the various labor bureaus of the state.

"A committee of the City Club appeared before the Finance Committee of the City Council, urging a thorough, expert investigation of the subject of garbage collection and disposal.

"The club has also held a large number of public meetings during the year for the purpose of promoting a larger measure of publicity regarding contracts and proposals affecting the public interest, among which may be mentioned the so-called Marshall Field Ordinance and the contract made by the South Park Board with the Illinois Central Railroad relating to the Lake Front Park. The direct result of this promotion of publicity, together with the unusual and persevering work of a voluntary committee which was independent of the City Club and of which Lessing Rosenthal was chairman, brought about a substantial modification of the Illinois Central contract in the interests of the common good and the city of Chicago.

"The Chicago Bureau of Public Efficiency is a child of the City Club and the trustees are appointed by the Board of Directors of this club, so that the work of this bureau may be considered one of the achievements of the City Club. During the three years of its existence it has published twenty-one reports, which are as follows:

1. Method of Preparing and Administering the Budget of Cook County, Illinois, 1911.
2. Proposed Purchase of Voting Machines by the Board of Election Commissioners of the City of Chicago. May, 1911. (Out of print.)
3. Street Pavement Laid in the City of Chicago: An Inquiry Into Paving Materials, Methods and Results. June, 1911. (Out of print.)
4. Electrolysis of Water Pipes in the City of Chicago. July, 1911. (Out of print.)
5. Administration of the Office of Recorder of Cook County, Illinois. September, 1911.
6. A Plea for Publicity in the Office of County Treasurer. October, 1911.
7. Repairing Asphalt Pavement: Work Done for the City of Chicago Under Contract of 1911. October, 1911. (Out of print.)
8. The Municipal Court Act: Two Related Propositions Upon Which the Voters of Chicago Will Be Asked to Pass Judgment at the Election of November 7. Vote No. October 31, 1911. (Out of print.)
9. The Water Works System of Chicago. By Dabney H. Maury. December, 1911.
10. Bureau of Streets, Civil Service Commission and Special Assessment Accounting System of the City of Chicago. December, 1911.
11. Administration of the Office of Coroner of Cook County, Illinois. December, 1911.
12. Administration of the Office of Sheriff of Cook County, Illinois. December, 1911.
13. Administration of the Office of Clerk of the Circuit Court and of the Office of Clerk of the Superior Court of Cook County, Illinois. December, 1911.
14. The Judges and the County Fee Offices. December 19, 1911.
15. General Summary and Conclusions of Report on the Park Governments of Chicago. December, 1911.
16. The Park Governments of Chicago: An Inquiry into Their Organization and Methods of Administration. December, 1911.
17. Offices of the Clerks of the Circuit and Superior Courts: A Supplemental Inquiry Into Their Organization and Methods of Administration. November, 1912.

18. Administration of the Office of Clerk of the County Court of Cook County, Illinois. November, 1912.
19. Office of Sheriff of Cook County, Illinois: A Supplemental Inquiry Into Its Organization and Methods of Administration. November, 1912.
20. The Growing Cost of Elections in Chicago and Cook County. December, 1912.
21. The Voting Machine Contract. January 1, 1913.

"It will not be possible in this brief moment to give you an idea of what this bureau has accomplished in the saving of public money and in suggesting improved methods in the various departments of Cook County. The work of the bureau in the investigation of the County fee offices which was made at the request of the circuit judges, has saved the county over one hundred thousand dollars and improved the efficiency and methods in some of the departments.

"Perhaps the most important work which was before the Board of Directors during the early part of the year was to make sure that the club would be properly financed and not to leave at the end of the year a burden of debt upon an incoming administration. This you will find by the treasurer's report, has been successfully accomplished.

"The work next in importance which the board undertook was the adoption of some plan or method which would assist in the assimilation of 1,500 additional members to the Club. The tremendous growth from 900 to a membership of 2,400 (which is now in the neighborhood of 2,500) postponed for a longer time than usual the selection of the Civic Committees of the club. The great problem before us was how to assimilate into the activities and fundamental purposes for which this club was organized, all this new membership material. There are now 46 civic committees in the club and 700 members of the club are serving on these various committees.

"It seems to me that the chairman of every one of these 46 committees should without fail call the other members of the committee together for a conference at least once a month, and if in one of these monthly meetings some member is bright enough and has the ideas or the initiative to suggest some concrete work of practical usefulness to the community or to suggest some useful investigation, then this committee should immediately begin holding meetings once each week and strive to make a record of achievement.

"I cannot put too much emphasis on the urgent need for enthusiastic devotion and serious attention to the work of these various committees, for it is by these means and by the sincere work of the committees which we will fully realize the aims and purposes of our club, one of the most important of which is the investigation and improvement of municipal conditions and public affairs in the city of Chicago. It is mainly for this purpose that a library and reference facilities have been established and are maintained, that weekly public meetings are held, that exhibits are given, that a bulletin is published and every effort made for getting the members of the club together in closer association and co-operation for their own and for the public good. This all leads to but one end—the betterment of our city of Chicago and the promotion among us of better citizenship. It will take time and patience before the 2,500 members of our club are assimilated into the various working committees, where they can develop their best thoughts and formulate their best work.

"We hope to hold some good fellowship meetings, opportunities for getting together and becoming better acquainted. We had one such splendid meeting last year over which Dean Summer, with his usual grace and felicity, presided. More of these meetings should be held.

"A Current Topics Club was established during the year which has prospered and which in time should become an important feature of the club. It possesses some of the features of the old-fashioned debating society which was once a feature of every town and village in the early days of our Republic, but which city life and city specialization have outgrown. It affords a splendid opportunity for the young men of the club to get in more immediate touch with

public questions and by discussion clarify their minds and promote clearer thinking.

"The City Club of Chicago was the second organization of its kind established in this country, the City Club of New York being the first. Now many other large cities have followed our example and clubs of a similar nature have become established and are important civic institutions.

"The only club which has a larger membership than ours is one in Boston and this club is now building a club-house for its accommodation which, it is reported, will cost \$800,000. But in looking over the character of the work as shown in the bulletins and the published reports of the City Clubs in other cities, none of them, it seems to me, approaches our own club in the variety and extent of the work of its committees and their usefulness, nor do the other clubs devote themselves so exclusively as our own to municipal and local concerns and none of them surpasses our own in freedom of thought and speech and independence of action.

"But there is one motto which is printed at the head of each monthly bulletin which is issued by the Boston City Club and which I believe should be adopted by our own and be printed on a card and hung on the walls of our club. This motto is as follows: 'This Club is founded in the spirit of good-fellowship and every member of the club knows every other member without an introduction.'" (Applause.)

Following his address, the President called for reports of officers and of standing and special committees. No reports were submitted by the Finance Committee or the Public Affairs Committee. Other reports were as follows:

Report of the Treasurer

The first year of operation in our new club building has resulted in a somewhat lower cost than was estimated by your treasurer a year ago—thanks in a large measure to the efficiency of our present manager and house committee.

The figures show the cost above our revenue in dues and initiation fees to be \$4,994—exclusive of expenses which we class as Public Work. These Public Work expenses, including the cost of publishing the "Bulletin," speakers, etc., and the salaries of our Civic Secretaries, amount to \$11,411, against which we have had Public Work subscriptions paid in amounting to \$5,231, making the net cost of our public activities \$6,180, or a total of expenses above our revenues of \$11,174, which amount has been provided for by special subscriptions.

Before reading the figures showing the details, your treasurer would like to call the attention of the members to one item, namely, the amount of unpaid dues, \$2,147.50. Section 4 of article 1 of our by-laws reads as follows:

Any member who shall fail to pay his dues for a period of two months after notification by the Treasurer shall thereupon forfeit his membership.

This section has never been strictly enforced in the past, and its non-enforcement has resulted in some laxness, due probably more to carelessness than to any other cause. With our growth and increased liabilities, we feel sure all members will appreciate that proper club financing is largely dependent upon the prompt collection of our income, and will cheerfully respond to any efforts to conform our practice more nearly to the by-law above quoted*.

HAROLD H. ROCKWELL,
Treasurer.

*The remainder of the Treasurer's report consisted in the reading of the financial statement and the auditor's certificate printed on pages 195 to 197 of this Bulletin.—Ed.

Statement of Assets and Liabilities as at March 31, 1913.

ASSETS.		LIABILITIES.	
Leasehold, Building and Equipment, at cost.....	\$179,366.13	First Mortgage Leasehold 5% Bonds:	
Furnishings:		Authorized Issue.....	\$200,000.00
Furniture and Fixtures.....	\$11,156.94	Bonds Issued	\$181,900.00
Kitchen Equipment	4,944.54	Script Issued (secured by deposit of \$3,800.00	
Crockery and Utensils.....	1,810.86	City Club Bonds with The Northern Trust	
Linen	879.03	Co.)	3,800.00
Inventories:			\$185,700.00
Provisions	406.93	Note Payable: National City Bank:	
Cigars	702.53	Secured by Deposit of \$14,000.00 City Club	
Accounts and Notes Receivable:		Bonds)	14,000.00
Unpaid Dues	2,147.50	Accounts payable.....	7,626.25
Unpaid Restaurant and Cigar Checks.....	63.55	Reserves:	
Unpaid Subscriptions to Bulletin.....	30.00	Dues Paid in Advance.....	1,715.00
Rents Receivable	139.92	Housing Dinners Paid in Advance.....	45.75
General Accounts	44.01	Taxes Accrued	3,998.43
Note Receivable	35.00	Bond Interest Accrued.....	3,875.00
Sundry Prepayments:			9,634.18
Leasehold Ground Rent.....	845.80	Sundry Funds, Balances Unexpended:	
Insurance	686.57	Christmas Fund	366.93
Cash at Bank and in Hand.....		Revenues Committee	175.00
Deficiency.....	11,174.79	Education Committee	270.40
		Current Topics Club.....	5.75
		Traffic and Transportation Committee.....	60.20
			878.28
			\$217,838.71

Expenses and Income for the Year Ended March 31, 1913.

EXPENSES.

Fixed Charges:

Leasehold Ground Rent.....	\$10,150.00
Taxes	4,074.90
Fire and Employers' Liability Insurance.....	268.73
Interest on Bonds and Loans.....	9,831.55

Building Maintenance and House Expense:

House Employees' Wages.....	9,705.96
House Employees' Meals.....	2,145.40
Electric Power	1,802.72
Electric Light	806.15
Fuel	1,029.92
Building Repairs, etc.	419.91
Uniforms	174.26
General House Expense.....	2,226.45

Administrative Expenses:

Office Salaries	4,038.70
Stationery and Printing.....	930.59
Postage	1,004.76
Telephone	728.97
Newspapers and Periodicals.....	217.32
Premiums on Surety Bonds.....	82.50
Entertainment	191.95
General Expense	466.51

Departmental Accounts:

Loss on Restaurant	3,138.66
Less: Profit on Cigars.....	\$479.44
Profit on Billiard Room.....	605.54

Depreciation:

Furniture and Fixtures.....	1,182.50
Kitchen Equipment	1,579.20
Crockery and Utensils.....	1,224.52
Linen	446.06

Public Work:

General	7,972.18
Bulletin	2,980.90
Library	458.71

11,411.79

\$68,195.00

INCOME.

Members dues.....	\$47,242.50
Initiation fees.....	2,960.00
Rents Receivable.....	3,815.08
Contributions to Public Work.....	5,231.00
Miscellaneous Receipts.....	21.37
Balance, Loss for the Year Carried to Deficiency Account Below	8,925.05
	<u>\$68,195.00</u>

Deficiency Account for the Year Ending March 31, 1913.

Loss for the year ending March 31, 1913	\$ 8,925.05
Taxes, year 1911	2,874.00
	<u>\$11,799.05</u>

Contributions to special fund.....\$13,000.00

Less: Deficiency, April 1, 1912

Sundry Adjustments..... 50.25 12,375.74

624.26

Balance, Deficiency, March 31, 1913

11,174.79

\$11,799.05

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Credit

Charges

Restaurant.

Receipts from Members	\$47,057.25	Provisions used	\$24,871.22
Guests	95.30	Kitchen Wages	10,777.58
House Employees' Meals.....	2,150.60	Kitchen Expense	1,624.04
		Dining Room Wages.....	10,126.44
		Dining Room Expense.....	2,083.84
		Manager's Salary (proportion).....	1,339.00
		Cashiers' Salaries (proportion).....	1,175.00
		Electric Light (proportion).....	444.69
			<hr/>
			\$52,441.81
			<hr/>
		Loss for the Year.....	3,138.66
			<hr/>

Cigars.

Receipts from Members.....	\$ 4,420.14	Stock Used	\$ 3,295.70
		Wages	470.00
		Cigarette License—April 1, 1911, to December 31, 1913.....	175.00
			<hr/>
			\$ 3,940.70
			<hr/>

Billiard Room.

Receipts from Members.....	\$ 1,278.40	Wages of Attendant.....	\$ 532.78
		Supplies	140.08
			<hr/>
			\$ 672.86
			<hr/>
		Profit for the Year.....	\$ 605.54
			<hr/>

Auditors' Certificate.

We hereby certify that we have audited the Books of Account and vouchers of the City Club of Chicago for the year ended March 31, 1913, and that in our opinion the foregoing Statements of Assets and Liabilities, Income and Expense, and Departmental Accounts accurately exhibit the Club's financial condition as at March 31, 1913, and its operation during the year under review. A detailed report covering our examination has been submitted to the Directors as of even date. April 18, 1913.

ERNEST RECKITT & Co.
Certified Public Accounts.

Report of the Civic Secretary

The civic activities of the club comprise the luncheon discussions held before the club and the reports of these discussions in the *Bulletin*, the work of the Civic Committees, the special exhibitions and related discussions held in conjunction therewith and the publication of these exhibitions and discussions, the work of the Free Lecture Bureau and the meetings of the Current Topics Club.

Forty-seven luncheon discussions have been held during the last year, which is an unusually large number. These have dealt with a wide range of subjects and have included speakers from foreign lands and many from other cities and states of this country. The largest attendance was for the talk by Booker T. Washington.

Owing to the preoccupation of Mr. Akers in other work it was found necessary a few months ago to relieve him, at least for the time being, from the editorship of the *City Club Bulletin*, and Mr. Carlos C. Daughaday has been editing it for two or three months. Several issues have been illustrated, one containing a railroad terminal plan well executed in three colors.

The work of the Civic Committees during the last fiscal year has been seriously prejudiced by the interruption in work incident to their reappointment. They were reappointed by a special committee created by the directors for that purpose. Their number has been increased from 23 to 46. The number of Civic Committees, the number of their meetings and the attendance are shown in the following table:

	1911-1912	1912-1913	Decrease per cent
Number of committees.....	23	23	
Number of meetings.....	300	165	45
Average attendance per meeting.....	6.5	6.1	6
Total attendance	1,949	1,004	48

Committees holding largest number of meetings:

Housing Conditions—Elmer C. Jensen, Chairman.....	18 meetings
Public Health—Sherman C. Kingsley, Chairman.....	18 meetings
Labor Conditions—F. S. Deibler, Chairman.....	15 meetings
Administration of Justice—Sigmund Zeisler, Chairman.....	13 meetings
Public Parks, Playgrounds and Baths—F. I. Moulton, Chairman.....	12 meetings
Civil Service—C. M. Williams, Chairman.....	10 meetings

The President of the club in his remarks has given a general survey of the important Civic Committee activities of the year and these will be further recited in the annual reports of the committees which will be published in the *City Club Bulletin*.*

The most important public work carried on by the club during the past year has been the production and display in the club house of two special exhibitions. The first was on Chicago's Transportation Problem. Beside many photographs, photographic enlargements and various maps and plans already in existence, it comprised about 40 original maps and charts made especially for this exhibition and presenting facts concerning local transportation conditions in Chicago never before shown or compiled. It was the first attempt which has ever been made to afford a graphic and comprehensive view of the various and diversified phases of the transportation problem in any great city. Credit should be given for the compilation of much of the original data for this exhibition to Mr. Charles K. Mohler, now Secretary of the Los Angeles Public Utility Commission. In connection with the opening of the exhibition a series of ten discussions by well-informed persons on various phases of this subject were held before the club at luncheons. The cost of publishing these exhibits and discussions is now being estimated with a view to publication.

The Housing Exhibition, now installed in the club house, was prepared in

* See page 203.

pursuance of a matured plan announced at the annual meeting a year ago. Mr. Wreidt, chairman of the Exhibition Committee, is submitting a more detailed report on this subject (page 200).

While the plans for the Housing Exhibition were being worked out it was decided to hold a competition for plans designed to encourage improved methods of laying out the now unbuilt areas in and around Chicago. Mr. Alfred L. Baker, President of the club, offered to give \$600 for prizes for such plans, and with the aid of the Illinois Chapter of the American Institute of Architects a competition program for this purpose was drawn up. This program was circulated among all the architects of Illinois and many city planning experts in other parts of the country and to some extent in Europe. As a result forty sets of drawings—not all of which were in the competition—were duly submitted and are now on display in the club rooms. It is believed that the interest in improved methods for laying out residential areas, which has been stimulated by this competition, and the disclosure of ability for such work may aid toward developing a more idealistic school of thought and practice in regard to this subject in this portion of the country.

About 25 lectures have been given under the auspices of the club to societies and improvement clubs during the year through the club's Free Lecture Bureau.

A new activity of last year was the Current Topics Club already referred to in the President's statement.

No increase has occurred in the regular office force of the club during the past year except the addition of one young man for filing and general work. The office staff now comprises six persons beside the Assistant Civic Secretary.

The mail issued from the office is an index of the increasing volume of work done. The number of pieces of outgoing mail during the last fiscal year is shown, and in comparison with two previous years, by the following table:

	1910-1911	1911-1912	1912-1913	Per cent increase 1 year	Per cent increase 2 years
Postals	28,852	48,100	85,125	77	195
Letters	17,539	39,056	25,708	*34	46
Bills—Receipts	4,434	4,223	8,405	99	89
Bulletin	20,215	35,026	66,703	90	230
Miscellaneous	1,295	21,190	49,369	132	3,712
	72,235	147,595	235,310	59	225

* Decrease.

GEORGE E. HOOKER,
Civic Secretary.

Report of Editor of City Club Bulletin

The City Club Bulletin as in the past was confined last year mainly to an account of the long table discussions of the club. It has frequently been suggested that the scope of the Bulletin be extended beyond these limits, but until this year no action on this suggestion has been taken. On January 24, last, the Directors voted to include in the Bulletin other matter of the following sorts:

1. Committee reports found by the Public Affairs Committee to be appropriate for publication.
2. News of other club activities or events in the clubhouse.
3. News of City Clubs in other cities.

Pursuant to this action of the board it is proposed to enlarge the scope of the Bulletin, and at the same time make it more attractive and readable. Illustrations have already been used in three numbers.

The value of the Bulletin is widely recognized as indicated by the frequent requests for copies from outside sources. On several occasions larger editions were printed to meet this demand. It is believed that in this way the Bulletin has had great usefulness in extending the influence of the club. The regular non-

member circulation of the Bulletin—to libraries, other civic organizations, etc.—was 175 copies, March 31, 1913.

The acknowledgment of the editor is due to Mr. C. C. Daughaday, who, since January 1, 1913, has been acting editor of the Bulletin, and has made certain changes in the form of the Bulletin which have improved its general attractiveness.

Efforts to secure second-class mailing privileges for the Bulletin last year were not successful.

The following comparative statistics for the year 1911-12 and 1912-13 are submitted:

	1911-1912	1912-1913	Increase Per Cent.
Circulation—copies	2,397	2,675	12
Number of issues	28	23	18*
Number of printed pages.....	336	429	28
Average number of pages per issue.....	12	18.6	55
Total number of copies mailed.....	35,026	55,839	59
Cash expended—Bulletin account.....	\$1,967.61	\$3,018.87	53
Net cost of publication.....	2,080.71	2,980.90	43
Net cost of publication per copy mailed.....	5.9c	5.3c	10*

* Decrease.

It is interesting to note from these figures that, although there has been a substantial reduction in the cost of the Bulletin per copy mailed, the size of the Bulletin has materially increased—more than 50 per cent.

DWIGHT L. AKERS,
Editor.

Report of the Librarian

The City Club library for the past year, as formerly, has been in charge of the assistant civic secretary, who has had the assistance at irregular intervals of an outside cataloguer.

No list of accessions has been kept but the library has maintained a normal increase for the year. A rough estimate places the number of bound and unbound volumes on the shelves at 3,600, an increase of 500 or 16 per cent over last year. The number of pamphlets, magazine articles, clippings, circulars, etc., is estimated at about 15,000, or 3,000 (25 per cent) more than last year. The facilities for caring for this class of material are rapidly becoming inadequate.

An important piece of work done in connection with the library this year was the compilation of a list of its resources on the subject of housing conditions. This, together with similar lists prepared by other downtown libraries, has just been published by the Chicago School of Civics and Philanthropy in a forty-page pamphlet, entitled "Housing Literature in Central Chicago Libraries."

The library is indebted to Mr. W. W. Case for a collection of city documents which has made possible the filling out of a number of incomplete sets. Gifts of this sort are much valued.

The library expense for the year was \$472.84 as against \$497.50 for 1911-12, a decrease of 5 per cent.

DWIGHT L. AKERS,
Librarian.

Report of the Housing Exhibit Committee

ERNEST A. WREIDT, *Chairman.*
DWIGHT L. AKERS, *Secretary.*

T. W. Allinson.
Charles B. Ball.
Elmer S. Batterson.
Victor von Borosini.
Edward L. Burchard.
W. F. Dummer.
Morris L. Greeley.
Mrs. Harry Hart.

George E. Hooker.
Harry L. Jackson.
Elmer C. Jensen.
John C. Kennedy.
Mrs. Edward T. Lee.
James E. Mills.
William A. Otis.
Fred J. Pischel.

I. K. Pond.
Charles R. Reed.
Harry F. Robinson.
R. F. Schuchardt.
James H. Tufts.
C. D. Waterbury.
Peter J. Weber.
Frank E. Wing.

Under the auspices of the City Club Committee on Housing, an exhibition of housing conditions in Chicago and of improved housing in Europe and America was opened in the club building March 17, 1913. In view of the present agitation for improved housing in Chicago it was deemed important in this exhibition to emphasize the constructive side. Especially significant, therefore, are the examples of idealistic housing achievements obtained from many cities in Europe and America, largely by Mr. Edward L. Burchard during his trip abroad last summer. A fifty-six page catalogue of the exhibition is being printed.

Under the direction of a special committee of architects of which Mr. I. K. Pond was chairman, an effort has been made in this exhibition to set a standard on the artistic side. The entire wall surface above the chair rail has been made available for display purposes, and a desirable degree of uniformity of tinting, lettering, and arrangement of material has been secured. A special committee on publicity has also been appointed to bring the exhibition to the attention of the public.

The exhibition was in charge of a special committee appointed by the Housing Committee of the club, and consisting of the chairmen of the various sections of the exhibition. The membership of this committee was not confined to the City Club. The Woman's City Club, the Chicago Woman's Club, the Chicago School of Civics and Philanthropy and many other organizations, individuals, firms, municipalities, municipal departments, etc., have contributed valuable material for the exhibition.

ERNEST A. WREIDT,
Chairman.

Report of the House Committee

ROBERT M. CUNNINGHAM, *Chairman.*

Preston Kumler.

Edward Yeomans.

The City Club has completed its first fiscal year in the present building, and we can now begin to get some comparative figures on the cost of operation, and attendance, which prove most encouraging.

The first three months of last year, covered in the last annual statement, showed an increasing loss in the restaurant operation, which continued to increase until July, at which time we made a change in the club management, securing the services of Mr. John R. Dignan.

Mr. Dignan was immediately able to effect a distinct decrease in our expenses and continued to cut down the monthly deficit until the following November, when the ledger showed an operating profit of over \$250. From then on until the close of the year on March 31 last, we have had a profit account in this department each month, the smallest being \$81 and the largest \$538.

A comparison of the results for the first quarter of 1912 and for the same period this year shows a loss of \$1,941 for the former period as against a profit of \$772 for the latter.

The year as a whole came out better than we expected, inasmuch as the first seven months' loss, amounting to \$4,300, was reduced to about \$3,000 by the end of the year.

The cigar sales in the club have not come up to expectations, averaging only \$350 a month, and the profit accruing from the department less than \$500 for the entire year. We specially urge the members to give the club the benefit of their cigar purchases, and with the idea of making it more of an inducement to do so, the price of all cigars by the box has been reduced to 10 per cent over the wholesale cost.

The billiard room has proved to be a small but steady source of profit, averaging better than \$50 a month throughout the year, which is very satisfactory considering its limited capacity.

The attendance both at noon and in the evening has been constantly increasing during the winter, so that for the completed year we had an average daily

attendance of 260. It is interesting to note here that our record day so far was on February 28 last, when 780 persons were served.

Mr. Dignan has greatly improved both the quality of the meals and the service, which in part accounts for the increased popularity, shown by the attendance figures. Much praise is due him for this efficient work, and to the other employees for their help and co-operation.

Our facilities for holding banquets are now of the best, and the growing number of affairs of this kind being held in the club, shows that the service is satisfactory.

There is no reason why this club should not be the equal of any club in Chicago in its restaurant service, and if the members will interest themselves enough to address criticism and ideas for improvement to the House Committee, it is certain that the City Club's future reputation in this regard is assured.

ROBERT M. CUNNINGHAM,

Chairman.

Report of Committee on Admissions

SPENCER L. ADAMS, *Chairman.*

Laird Bell.

Henry Porter Chandler.

F. H. Deknatel.

George O. Fairweather.

Richard T. Fox.

Arthur B. Hall.

Walter D. Herrick.

Paul Steinbrecher.

The Committee on Admissions has endeavored the past year to give due and careful consideration to qualifications for membership. In all cases the recommendations of both a proposer and a seconder have first been required. Then, where personal acquaintance on the part of the committee, or substantial information about the person proposed, was lacking, additional references have been called for or personal investigation made.

The routine work of the committee and the membership standing is summed up as follows:

Number of meetings	65
Average attendance	6
Persons approved for membership.....	829
Persons invited to become members.....	857
Persons accepting invitations	577
Persons reinstated after resignation.....	16
Resigned	343
Dropped	19
Died	9
<hr/>	
Membership April 1, 1912.....	2,231
Membership March 31, 1913.....	2,495
Increase	264

From these figures it appears that the club has had a steady growth notwithstanding the very large number of resignations. While a considerable number of resignations was due to removal of residence, the greater part can be accounted for only on the ground that the attraction of the new club-house impelled them to join, and not a genuine interest in the purposes of the club.

At the present time the cards of 32 persons are filled out and under consideration, while 72 other names have been suggested but delays are experienced in getting the cards back from either the proposer or seconder, or in hearing from additional references.

Most of the club members are to be praised for the conscientious manner in which they set forth the facts regarding the persons proposed, and impatience over delay is usually to be charged to those who slight these important requirements.

The meetings of the committee have always been regarded of an executive character and all information furnished treated as confidential. Under such

circumstances, the work of the committee might be facilitated if the members would not so rigidly adhere to the estimable principle that if you cannot say anything good about a person do not say anything bad.

SPENCER L. ADAMS,
Chairman.

Annual Election of Officers and Directors

The report of the Nominating Committee upon names for officers for the ensuing year and directors for the ensuing two years, as duly posted according to the by-laws of the club, was presented by the secretary on behalf of the Nominating Committee. It was as follows:

April 1, 1913.

The undersigned, selected by the Board of Directors of the City Club of Chicago as a Nominating Committee, in accordance with Article III, Section 1, of the By-Laws, report the following nominees to be voted on at the annual meeting on Saturday, April 19, 1913:

For President—Alfred Landon Baker.
For Vice-President—Frederic Bruce Johnstone.
For Treasurer—Harold H. Rockwell.
For Secretary—Henry P. Chandler.
For Directors—(Two-Year Term)—Robert M. Cunningham,
Edward B. DeGroot, Victor Elting, George C. Sikes.

Henry B. Favill, Chairman.
Arthur B. Hall.
Morton D. Hull.
Preston Kumler.
Henry E. Legler.

No other nominations being made, on motion duly made and seconded it was resolved that the secretary be instructed to cast the ballot for the nominations as read for the respective officers and directors. This motion was unanimously carried and ballot was so cast by the Secretary. The President thereupon declared the aforementioned persons duly elected officers and directors.

Following the election Mr. Baker, President, Mr. Chandler, Secretary, and Messrs. De Groot and Sikes, newly elected Directors, spoke briefly, after which the meeting was declared adjourned.

ANNUAL REPORTS OF CITY CLUB CIVIC COMMITTEES

YEAR ENDING MARCH 31, 1913

The annual reports of the civic committees of the City Club for the year ending March 31, 1913, are printed herewith. No reports have been submitted by the Committees on Burial Customs; Charitable, Penal and Reformatory Agencies; Harbors, Wharves and Waterways; Lighting and Telephone Service; Reduction of Noise; Political Nominations and Elections; Postal Service; Publicity and Statistics; Streets, Alleys and Bridges, and Water Supply, Drainage and Sewerage. Some of these committees have held few or no meetings, on account of the delay in committee reorganization, and the reports of others have not yet been received.

Report of Committee on Municipal Art

EVERETT L. MILLARD, *Chairman.*
IRWIN S. ROSENFELS, *Secretary.*

In 1912 a sub-committee of the Municipal Art Committee drafted a bill to amend the existing act providing for the creation of art commissions in cities,

and in March, 1913, after approval by the committee, the bill was introduced in the Illinois House of Representatives by Representative Hull, where it is now pending. This amending bill is designed to make mandatory the submission of designs of public structures to the Municipal Art Commission instead of leaving it optional with City Council as at present and provides that the personnel of the commission should be largely made up of persons following artistic pursuits. This is the third attempt the committee has made to secure an amendment to the existing act to the same end. Similar amendments were passed in 1909 and vetoed by the Governor, and the bill introduced in 1911, corrected to meet the Governor's objections, failed of passage.

The committee has also worked on an amendment to the existing State Art Commission Act to make mandatory the submission of plans for state structures to the State Art Commission, the body which was created by an act drafted by this Committee. These amendments, however, it was thought wise not to introduce at this session in order to clear the way for the amendment to the Municipal Art Commission Act.

The committee has continued its interest in the billboard question by following the workings of the new billboard ordinance which this committee, with the Municipal Art League and other organizations, aided in having passed by the City Council two years ago in form as satisfactory as could be expected. On December 7, a public discussion was held at the City Club on the subject of "Billboards and Other Forms of Outdoor Advertising." This discussion was arranged jointly by the Municipal Art League of Chicago and this committee. The speakers represented artists, bill posters and the Chicago Building Department, and following the set program there was a lively discussion from the floor. On January 4, at a City Club luncheon this discussion was followed up by a brief recital of various suggestions made for abating the billboard nuisance.

The committee has requested the trustees of the Art Institute to increase the hours of free admission to the public, with some success. It also requested the Ferguson Art Fund Trustees to consider devoting part of the money from that fund to small objects of art scattered over the poorer parts of the city, instead of concentrating the money on monumental structures on the lake front. At the suggestion of the trustees the committee made detailed suggestions with photographs of various localities and suggestions for suitable monuments and objects to be commemorated thereby. These suggestions have received consideration, but no action has as yet been taken on them.

The committee is interested in the removal of overhanging business signs and encroachments from the city streets, particularly in the loop district. It was instrumental in cleaning up State street from these objectionable features and will follow up the order prepared on March 10, 1913, by the City Council referring to the removal of all such obstructions in the loop district before January 1, 1915.

EVERETT L. MILLARD,
Chairman.

Report of Committee on City Planning

JENS JENSEN, *Chairman.*
ELMO C. LOWE, *Secretary.*

The Committee on City Planning during the year ending March 31, 1913, held seven meetings, at which various matters relating to the committee's work were considered.

Last October, following a meeting of the committee with a number of residents of Rogers Park to discuss plans for the improvement of that section of the city, a sub-committee visited Rogers Park and made various suggestions, as follows:

- (1) That a survey of the physical aspects of the area should be made to determine the proper location and lay-out of parks, playgrounds, school sites, business centers and transportation systems.

- (2) That a periodical valuation of lands should be made to determine the areas benefited by improvements.
- (3) That a competition, with prizes, might be held among architects and draftsmen for a plan of improvement.
- (4) That sites for public improvements be leased for long periods with option for purchase.
- (5) That a park be reserved on the lake shore and a parkway be constructed extending from this point west to the drainage canal and connecting at Clark street with the business center.
- (6) That an artificial lake be created on the canal affording opportunities for recreation and enhancing the charm of the neighborhood. The excavated material could be used to raise the grades in the west end of the district.
- (7) That a study be made of the location of further transportation facilities.
- (8) That public intelligence and support be developed by the institution of local social centers.

The suggestions of the sub-committee were transmitted to the residents of Rogers Park at whose request the study was made. As a result of conferences held in connection with this matter, it has been suggested to the directors that a scheme be worked out for the affiliation of local neighborhood organizations with the City Club.

E. C. LOWE,
Secretary.

Report of Committee on Civil Service

C. M. WILLIAMS, *Chairman.*
HARRY L. BIRD, *Secretary.*

The Civil Service Committee held during the year nine meetings.

In May, 1912, the committee considered what seemed to be a dangerous attack in Congress on civil service under which government employes were working. A resolution providing for a five-year tenure of office by civil service employees had been attached as a rider to one of the appropriation bills in the House of Representatives and had been passed by the House without a roll call and was then before the Senate. The consensus of opinion of civil service bodies throughout the country was that it was a subtle but serious attack on the merit system. The committee, after a careful examination of the proposed resolution, and recognizing the danger to the future of civil service in such a change, decided to recommend an open meeting of the club at which the situation should be discussed. This meeting was held May 20; the matter was thoroughly discussed, protests being voiced by the Hon. Sigmund Zeisler, Hon. John P. McGoorty, Judge of the Circuit Court of Cook County; Russell Whitman, Esq., and William B. Hale, Esq.

On May 20, 1912, the following telegram was sent to the president, to the chairman of the Senate Committee on Appropriations and to the chairman of the House Sub-committee on Appropriations:

We respectfully urge that Sections 4 and 5, on classified civil service, in House Resolution 24023, the Appropriation Bill as passed by House, be stricken out. Five-year tenure provision, with discharge and re-appointment at discretion of department head, for Washington employees, inevitably would force them into patronage politics. Civil service history shows that remedy for inefficiency of employees holding positions during good behavior is to give civil service commission authority to remove employees in all departments for proven inefficiency.

A letter embodying a copy of this telegram was directed to be sent to members of Congress from Illinois, senators from Illinois, members of the House Committee on Appropriations, members of the Senate Committee on Appropriations. Many acknowledgements were received. It is sufficient to state that the widespread protests of civil service bodies and sympathizers had apparent effect,

for the paragraphs in question were stricken out of the bill by the Senate and were not put back in conference.

The position of superintendent of streets was again up for discussion, as it had been in the preceding year. A promotional examination under civil service rules had been called for this position. Under the ruling of the Civil Service Commission only three names were available—that of Mr. Frank Solon, who had been holding the place as acting superintendent of streets for over a year, and two assistant superintendents. No effort, so far as the committee could ascertain, had been made to open the examination to outsiders. After consultation with representatives of the Civil Service Reform Association, the committee decided that it was helpless to do anything, as apparently the terms of the law were being complied with, while the spirit of the merit system was being ruthlessly violated. Mr. Solon was beaten in the examination by Assistant Superintendent of Streets Leininger, but was appointed to the position by the mayor, who exercised his legal right in promotional examinations to select from the three highest candidates. In the judgment of the committee Mr. Solon, as a spoils politician, is far from being the right man for so important a place.

Owing to the inability of several members of the committee to give their time and service to the program of work of the committee as outlined early in the year, little has been done along the lines of discussion and action on legislative amendments to the civil service laws, and of investigation of the feasibility of schools of instruction for police and firemen.

In connection with the latter we would add that under the new civilian superintendent of police a school has been started for police officers.

C. M. WILLIAMS,
Chairman.

Report of Committee on Education

GEORGE H. MEAD, *Chairman.*
FRANK A. NAGLEY, *Secretary.*

The principal occupation of the Committee on Education during the past year has been the discussion of the best form that can be given to a state measure for the encouragement of vocational training in Illinois. A measure was drawn up by a sub-committee consisting of Mr. E. A. Wreidt, Mr. F. M. Leavitt and the chairman. This form of a bill was approved by the whole committee and was accompanied by a statement of the principles which the committee felt should be recognized in any legislation upon this subject, together with some discussion of the differences between this measure and that presented by the Commercial Club of Chicago and the so-called Blair bill. By vote of the whole committee this form of a bill with the accompanying statement of principles and discussion was, with the approval of the directors, issued as a club bulletin, has been widely circulated and made the basis of considerable discussion. It was the opinion of the committee that this bill should not be itself presented at Springfield, but should be only made the subject of discussion.

The committee was represented at the conference called by the Illinois Bankers' Association, through Mr. Wreidt and Mr. Leavitt, who have taken an active part in the work of this conference, which has led up to the formulation of the so-called conference bill.

Because of the reorganization of the committees of the club, the Committee on Schools has undertaken nothing further than this during the past year.

GEORGE H. MEAD,
Chairman.

Report of Committee on Fire Prevention and Building Regulations

FRANK D. CHASE, *Chairman*.
ARNOLD W. TOTMAN, *Secretary*.

During the past year the Committee on Fire Prevention and Building Regulations has continued its work in connection with the ordinances before the City Council with reference to pertinent matters. We have also continued in our effort to include in the curriculum of the public schools some instruction in the principles of fire prevention.

The chairman as well as some of the members of the committee have been preaching the gospel of fire prevention wherever possible in the technical press and by talks before the Y. M. C. A. and other bodies.

The committee believes that luncheon talks on the subject of fire prevention, including a discussion of the proposed State Building Code, will be of value and interest, and is now planning to arrange for such talks.

FRANK D. CHASE,
Chairman.

Report of the Committee on Public Health

SHERMAN KINGSLEY, *Chairman*.
CHARLES YEOMANS, *Secretary*.

The Committee on Public Health begs leave to report that during the past year eighteen meetings were held with an average attendance of nine. The subjects considered and action taken on each were as follows:

The Owen Bill for a Federal Health Bureau.—Investigation and report by sub-committee, public discussion of the question arranged for.

Needs of the City Health Department.—Investigation and reports by sub-committees assigned to individual bureaus of the department, supplemented by informal addresses before the committee by Mr. Ball, chief sanitary inspector, and Dr. Tonney of the Health Department laboratory. Concerted action with representatives of other civic organizations toward an increase and in protest against a reduction in Health Department appropriation.

New Milk Ordinance.—Investigation and report by sub-committee. Informal address to the committee by Health Commissioner Young. Favorable resolution adopted and presented to health committee of the City Council.

Fly Nuisance.—In conjunction with the Infant Welfare Committee of the Woman's City Club arranged for a children's prize essay contest on the subject. Prizes were publicly awarded by Commissioner Young and winners' names published in Health Department Bulletin.

Vital Statistics.—Sub-committee appointed and campaign for legislative action instituted.

County Hospital Nursing Staff.—Resolution advocating renewal of contract with Illinois Training School adopted and presented by sub-committee to the Board of County Commissioners.

Communicable Diseases.—General discussion of means of eradication.

Ice Inspection.—Report by sub-committee and general discussion relative to possible advantages of a public ice inspection bureau.

Care of Tuberculosis Patients in County Institutions.—Resolution adopted and submitted to County Commissioners indorsing recommendations of the Tuberculosis Institute.

New Building Law.—In relation to public health.

Ice Cream Manufacture.

While your committee is reluctant to lay claim to any material public benefit resulting from its activities for the year, it takes pleasure in recording its appreciation of the opportunities offered for the enlightenment of its own members.

There being few, if any, phases of city life which do not touch upon the question of public health, it is the sense of your committee that the problems involved are so numerous and so urgent as to demand the formation of a representative public body and the raising of funds for the express purpose of conducting an exhaustive expert survey of Chicago's health conditions and formulating effective means of amelioration, and it is the belief of your committee that such an organization would meet with the hearty co-operation of the City Health Department in its efforts.

CHARLES YEOMANS,
Secretary.

Report of Committee on Housing Conditions

ELMER C. JENSEN, *Chairman.*
FRED V. HAWLEY, *Secretary.*

The Committee on Housing Conditions has held twenty-one regular and special meetings during the year. The following questions have been discussed at length:

Lodging houses, violation of and amendments to building ordinances, improved tenements, garden cities, work of the commission to revise and codify the state building laws.

Special meetings have been held to prepare for the housing exhibit, at two of which meetings the following organizations were represented: Chicago Tuberculosis Institute, School of Civics and Philanthropy, Gad's Hill Center, Chicago Woman's Club, The Woman's City Club, Chicago Woman's Aid, Bureau of Personal Service, United Charities, Conference of Jewish Women's Organizations, Young Men's Association of Jewish Charities, Hull House, University Settlement.

Special committees have been appointed on the following questions:

Regulations of other cities concerning lodging houses.

Revision of state building laws, and increased appropriations for the Departments of Health and Buildings.

Your committee has had some member in attendance at many of the meetings of the Council Committee on Buildings and hopes to continue this feature. Your committee has also prepared plans and prospectus for proposed improved tenements.

Since October the activities of the committee have been practically confined to the work of preparation and installation of the housing exhibit. Plans for the future have not yet been prepared.

ELMER C. JENSEN,
Chairman.

Report of Committee on Administration of Justice

SIGMUND ZEISLER, *Chairman.*
CHARLES V. CLARK, *Secretary.*

The Committee on Administration of Justice has held bi-weekly meetings the past year, except during July, August and September. The following subjects have been given special consideration.

1. Taking judicial elections out of politics.
2. Increasing the efficiency of the Circuit and Superior Courts of Cook County, by vesting in Chief Justices administrative powers similar to those of the Chief Justice of the Municipal Court of Chicago.
3. Limiting the right of appeal in cases involving small amounts of money.
4. Changing the rules of practice in the Circuit and Superior Courts to the end that the final disposition of causes may be facilitated.
5. Appointment of official court stenographers and taxation of their fees as costs of court.

The question of taking judicial elections out of politics has engaged the attention of the committee during the entire year. The work was continued from the prior year and has resulted in the preparation of a comprehensive bill in which work the chairman had the valuable assistance of Prof. Ernst Freund of the University of Chicago. The draft of this bill was submitted to the Board of Directors of this club, which approved the same, and the bill was introduced in the Illinois Legislature. A sub-committee of this committee has been appointed to take such measures as may seem advisable to secure favorable consideration of the bill.

During the year sub-committees have done a large amount of work in investigating different phases of the question under consideration, and reports have been submitted and are now on file in the archives of the committee covering the following subjects:

1. The methods of selecting judges in the states of North and South Dakota.
2. The method of selecting judges in the state of Wisconsin.
3. Bibliography on the question of taking judicial elections out of politics to be found in current legal periodicals.
4. Provisions of the present election, ballot and primary laws, which seem to require amendment in order that any comprehensive law taking judicial nominations and elections out of politics may be made effective.

At several meetings of the committee the question of limiting the right of appeal in cases involving small amounts of money has been given special consideration, but no final action has yet been taken.

The meeting on November 8, 1912, was given up entirely to the consideration of a bill prepared by Mr. Albert M. Kales, designed to effect the reorganization of the courts of Cook County and giving special powers to the chief justice of said courts.

SIGMUND ZEISLER,
Chairman.

Report of Committee on Labor Conditions

F. S. DEIBLER, *Chairman.*
VICTOR VON BOROSINI, *Secretary.*

The Committee on Labor Conditions has continued the study of several of the questions which were under consideration during the previous year. A formal letter was drafted and addressed to Governor Dunne calling attention to the overlapping of the labor laws and labor departments of the state and asking for the appointment of a committee to codify the labor laws and make recommendations concerning the consolidation of the labor departments of the state. This letter, together with a formal resolution calling for the appointment of such an investigative commission, was presented personally to Governor Dunne by a sub-committee. This question has received favorable attention in connection with the Hurburgh resolution, which provides for an investigation of all administrative departments of the state. In connection with this question the committee has held one or two meetings with representatives of the mayor's commission on unemployment with the view of securing co-operation with this body.

A sub-committee has followed the operation of the workmen's compensation law and the committee is now assisting in the general revision of this law. A sub-committee has made a very careful analysis of the proposed bill and has made a number of valuable suggestions for the improvement of the law. Several of these have already been incorporated in the bill in its present form.

The committee has co-operated so far as was possible with the Half Holiday Committee of the Woman's City Club in an endeavor to secure Sunday closing of the clothing stores in the Milwaukee avenue district.

F. S. DEIBLER,
Chairman.

Report of Committee on Public Parks, Playgrounds and Baths

FRANK I. MOULTON, *Chairman.*

JAMES P. PETRIE, *Secretary.*

Since its last report the Committee on Public Parks, Playgrounds and Baths has held fifteen meetings, with an average attendance of a fraction less than eight. Various matters coming within the jurisdiction of the committee have been considered, among others park consolidation, the failure of the Lincoln park commissioners to hold civil service examinations, the suit brought against West Chicago park commissioners by certain parties for injunction to restrain them from building field houses, the question of the appointment of a South Park commissioner to succeed Mr. Foreman, the question of appointment by the Governor of West Park and Lincoln Park commissioners, the lake front contract between the South Park commissioners and the Illinois Central Railroad and the acquiring of a site for a new park in Austin by the West Park commissioners with reference to the effect on the community of the proposed park by a continuation of Harrison street through the site.

The foregoing are the principal subjects which have had consideration by your committee. The matter of park consolidation has been taken from the jurisdiction of this committee by the appointment of a special committee on park consolidation, of which committee all the members of this committee are members.

No action was taken by this committee on the question of the failure of the Lincoln Park Board to hold civil service examinations, as that question was considered more especially within the jurisdiction of the Civil Service Committee.

No formal action was taken by the committee on the suit for injunction against the West Park commissioners in that on investigation it was found that the suit was not being pressed and that the attorney for the board was confident that it could not be maintained.

A letter was sent to the Circuit Court judges with the approval of your board urging upon the attention of the judges the views of the committee as to the qualifications that ought to be possessed by the person who should be appointed to succeed Mr. Foreman as a member of the South Park Board. It was also especially urged upon the judges that a public hearing should be given before the appointment was made, in order that the parties in interest might have an opportunity to present the names of candidates. The matter was also brought before the judges at their meeting by the chairman of this committee. The judges, however, appointed a person to this position who apparently had already been agreed upon at the time the matter was presented to them by your committee. The press, however, gave the matter considerable publicity, and it is hoped that there will be some good results in the future from the agitation.

Your committee also have given consideration to the question of the establishment of a bathing beach in Jackson Park and have continued to urge the matter upon the attention of the South Park commissioners. Some of the members of the committee procured a petition, signed by about 6,000 names, which has been presented to the South Park commissioners. A sub-committee on bathing beaches is still giving the matter attention.

No formal action was taken by your committee upon the question of the contract between the South Park commissioners and the Illinois Central railroad.

Your committee has also addressed Governor Dunne on the question of the appointments to be made to the West Park Board and the commissioners of Lincoln Park.

FRANK I. MOULTON,
Chairman.

Report of Special Committee on Park Consolidation

FRANK I. MOULTON, *Chairman*.

I beg herewith to submit report of the Special Committee on Park Consolidation. This committee was appointed last November and held its first meeting on the 17th day of December, 1912, at which there was a very full attendance.

The question of the bill on park consolidation submitted to the City Council by Mayor Harrison was considered, and as it seemed to be the sense of the committee that the bill known as Charter Bill No. 1 was preferable to the bill submitted by the mayor, the two bills were ordered printed and copies sent to all members of the committee. The question was also referred to an executive committee with instructions to report its recommendations to the full committee.

The executive committee held two meetings in which the matter was given consideration, resulting in some ten or twelve specific recommendations as to amendments and modifications of the mayor's bill. These recommendations were reported back to a meeting of the full committee and the recommendations of the executive committee were adopted by the full committee, the executive committee being authorized on approval of the Board of Directors of the club to submit these recommendations to the committee of the City Council having the matter in charge. However, before these recommendations were submitted to the Council committee the mayor had sent to the Council an amended bill on consolidation which agreed very nearly with the bill as approved by this committee. The chairman of the committee subsequently presented the recommendations to the Council committee and the bill, substantially as approved by this committee, has been introduced in the Senate and is now pending before the Legislature.

FRANK I. MOULTON,
Chairman.

Report of Committee on Municipal Revenues and Expenditures

M. S. WILDMAN, *Chairman* (resigned).

GEORGE S. JACKSON, *Secretary*.

The City Club Committee on Municipal Revenues and Expenditures was chiefly occupied last year with the pending contract for the disposal of Chicago's garbage. Consideration of the garbage question was begun by the Finance Committee of the City Council in December, 1911, following the request of the Chicago Reduction Company for a five-year extension of its contract, on the ground that certain permanent improvements in its plant needed to handle the large increase in the amount of city garbage could not otherwise be made. Public interest was aroused by complaints that the plant was a neighborhood nuisance and should be removed from the city, and by the claim that the Reduction Company was making large profits from the operation of its plant, at the same time charging the city an excessive sum—\$47,500 per year—for the reduction of garbage. Protests against the renewal of the contract were made by various citizens' organizations, and a special commission, Alderman John A. Richert, chairman, was appointed to go into the matter. After visiting various cities, the commission, on June 13th, reported, recommending a short extension of the present contract pending the receipt of bids and the erection of a reduction plant in accordance therewith.

The City Club Committee on Municipal Revenues and Expenditures began its consideration of the subject early in 1912, a special sub-committee having been appointed for the purpose. In this it had the co-operation of a similar sub-committee from the Committee on Streets, Alleys and Bridges.

Just prior to the publication of the report of the City Commission, the Citizens' Association issued a report recommending, among other things, an expert investigation of garbage collection with a view of improving service. It was

later agreed between representatives of the Citizens' Association, the Woman's City Club and the two City Club sub-committees already mentioned that prior to any settlement the city should make an expert investigation of the entire problem of the house treatment, collection, haul and the disposal of the city garbage and refuse, these subjects being correlated and considered as essential elements in the single problem. This was accordingly recommended to the Finance Committee by all three organizations at a public hearing June 28, 1912. The committee, however, without waiting for an investigation, ordered that bids for a new reduction plant in accordance with specifications to be prepared by the Department of Public Works be called for.

On July 8th the Finance Committee recommended to the City Council that the sum of \$10,700 be appropriated for an investigation to determine the basis upon which the ward funds should be divided in preparing the annual appropriation ordinance. The two sub-committees of the City Club already mentioned thereupon addressed a communication to the City Council urging that the field of this investigation be extended so that its results might be used in determining the city's policy as regards the collection and disposal of waste. The ordinance was passed, however, as originally drawn and was thus limited to its original purpose of assigning the ward funds.

In accordance with the earlier order of the Finance Committee, bids were advertised for, but owing to defects in the specifications the bids received could not be compared. On November 29 Acting City Engineer Henry J. Allen recommended to the Finance Committee that pending bids be rejected and an investigation be made into "the production, storing, collection, delivery and disposal of garbage, rubbish, ashes and sewage." At the meeting of the Finance Committee, December 13, 1912, the Citizens' Association, Woman's City Club and City Club—this time through its Public Affairs Committee—appeared in support of Mr. Allen's recommendation, suggesting also that an effort be made to ascertain the terms on which a short term extension of the Chicago Reduction Company's contract, pending the completion of investigation, could be made. This effort also failed to meet with the approval of the committee, but on January 28 all bids were rejected and the committee recommended to the Council that new bids be advertised for. After much delay the Council on March 18 authorized the new bids, but so far no steps have been taken to secure them.

The Committee on Revenues and Expenditures regards the delay by the city in settling upon a definite policy—a year and a quarter—time enough for a thorough study of the problem has elapsed since the matter was first brought up for consideration—as extremely unfortunate, as considerable time will be required for the building of a new plant, and delay, therefore, will tend to force a renewal of the present contract.

On March 13, 1913, when the committees of the club were reorganized, the subject of garbage disposal was turned over to a new "Committee on Garbage Disposal," Mr. Fred G. Henchling, chairman. At the same time the Committee on Municipal Revenues and Expenditures was divided into two committees, a "Committee on Taxation" and a "Committee on Public Expenditures."

GEORGE S. JACKSON,
Secretary.

Report of Committee on Short Ballot

EDWIN H. CASSELS, *Chairman.*
LEO W. HOFFMAN, *Secretary.*

Your Committee on Short Ballot respectfully reports that during the past year it has completed a special study of the ballot situation in the state of Illinois, in Cook County and in the city of Chicago, and that during the month of October last this report was presented to the directors and afterwards published and distributed to the members. The committee also reports that it has, through a

sub-committee composed of Messrs. Albert M. Kales, Henry P. Chandler and John Dorr Bradley, taken the initiatory steps toward the organization of a short ballot association for the state of Illinois to act in connection with the National Short Ballot Association. The Illinois Short Ballot Association was organized on Thursday, April 10, at Springfield.

Consideration has also been given during the year by the committee to the question of preparation of a bill or bills to be introduced during the present General Assembly for the purpose of accomplishing something in the way of bringing about a shorter ballot. After a very careful consideration of the matter, both by the committee and by the organizers of the Illinois Short Ballot Association, it was deemed wise, in view of the present constitutional restrictions and in view of the present situation in the General Assembly, not to present any bills during the present session of the General Assembly. It may be, however, that the Illinois Short Ballot Association may present a bill or bills, and if so, it is the purpose of this committee to co-operate with the State Association and to render such assistance as it may be called upon to give.

For the future the work of the committee will be directed largely along two lines: First, the consideration of a carefully wrought out program looking toward the ultimate adoption of a real short ballot in Illinois; second, co-operation, as far as may be deemed expedient, with the Illinois Short Ballot Association in such work as it may decide to undertake, but more particularly along the line of giving short ballot principles wider publicity and of placing the matter before the citizens of Chicago and Cook County.

EDWIN H. CASSELS,
Chairman.

Report of Committee on Traffic and Transportation

SAMUEL DAUCHY, *Chairman.*

The Committee on Traffic and Transportation of the City Club has met with reasonable regularity during the past year. The reorganization of the various civic committees has resulted in a complete change of membership and the breadth of the field has compelled a division of the work. In consequence there are now two separate committees, one on passenger traffic and one on freight traffic.

At the time of the last annual meeting preparations for the transportation exhibit were in progress and the exhibit enlisted the services of various members of this committee. Mr. Charles K. Mohler, now in Los Angeles, did a large amount of work on the exhibit and this was only a part of the work which he did for the public good.

The committee has taken up many questions pertaining to traffic. Some of these matters it has declined to take action on. Some it has discussed quite fully and some are still held in abeyance. Among the questions considered have been the merger ordinance, the car fender question, the car sign question, the Marshall Field tunnel ordinance, the freight interchange plan.

The new Passenger Traffic Committee has many important matters for its attention, and by no means the least important is the gigantic merger of the surface and elevated lines.

SAMUEL DAUCHY,
Chairman.



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The City Club Bulletin

Published by the CITY CLUB OF CHICAGO, 315 Plymouth Court

DWIGHT L. AKERS, Editor

VOLUME VI

WEDNESDAY, JULY 23, 1913

NUMBER 11

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THE RAILWAY TERMINAL PROBLEM IN CHICAGO

Since the plans of the Pennsylvania Railroad Company and others for terminal reorganization became known, it has been frequently pointed out that the city is at this time in a position to straighten out the present badly tangled network of railways within Chicago and to bring some sort of order out of present chaotic conditions if it will but insist that the problem be handled on broad lines. It has been argued that to allow a single railroad to undertake extensive alterations, such as those contemplated by the Pennsylvania company, without considering their relationship to the other railroads and to the city as a whole, would be to close, perhaps permanently, the possibility of that comprehensive replanning of terminal arrangements which is so badly needed by Chicago.

After careful consideration, therefore, the Directors of the City Club and the five civic committees chiefly concerned recommended to the Railway Terminals Committee of the City Council that the city should decide to have the railway terminal problem studied by an expert commission and that the method of appointing the commission be determined after a public hearing on that question. The communication follows:

JUNE 23, 1913.

ALD. ELLIS GEIGER, CHAIRMAN, AND MEMBERS OF THE CITY COUNCIL COMMITTEE ON RAILWAY TERMINALS, CITY HALL, CHICAGO.

Gentlemen:—The Directors of the City Club and the club Committees on Passenger Traffic, on Freight Traffic, on Streets, Alleys and Bridges, on City Planning and on Housing Conditions, having held jointly a series of six special meetings at which were presented various proposed railway terminal plans, and having since held two special meetings for the purpose of formulating our conclusions, beg to submit the following recommendations to your Honorable Committee:

1. We believe that wise action in regard to the railroad terminal problem in Chicago is of peculiar and critical importance at the present time, in view of the terminal improvements required in the near future by most of the railroad lines entering the city and the relation of such improvements to the problem of electrification or other means of smoke abatement, the problem of express travel for Greater Chicago, the problem of street rectification in the central district, the problem of normal elasticity for that district, the problem of industrial locations and the problem of proper protection for residential areas.

2. We believe that future railway terminal developments should be made, not according to plans designed solely for the convenience of a single railroad or a single group of railroads, but according to plans taking into account all the railroads in their relations to each other and to the industrial, commercial and residential needs of the community. We feel also that there is reason to hope for co-operation on the part of the railroads toward the adoption of such plans when properly worked out.

3. We believe that the authors of the various proposals brought out by the hearings of your committee deserve public gratitude for their studies, and that the suggestions thus made should be thoroughly analyzed and sifted with a view to utilizing whatever may be of value in any of them.

4. We feel that no reliable decision in this matter can be reached without the aid of the ablest, legal, technical and other expert advice, based on a thorough investigation of the engineering, transportation, financial and legal questions involved. Although we recognize that for good reasons there is urgency for the construction of a new passenger station by the Pennsylvania Railroad Company, yet we believe that such investigation need not occasion delay beyond a few months and that the benefits both to the city and to the Pennsylvania and other lines of a final decision so reached would be likely to justify such delay.

5. Therefore, in general conformity with the conclusions already reached in this matter and presented to your committee by the Western Society of Engineers, the Chicago Architects' Business Association, the Greater Chicago Federation, the Cook County Real Estate Board, and the Woman's City Club, we recommend that, before attempting to reach a conclusion concerning the pending ordinances of the Pennsylvania Railroad Company for passenger and freight terminals, the City Council should make a suitable and sufficient appropriation for an expert technical commission, which commission, in co-operation with the railroads, should make a thorough study of terminal plans and proposals and undertake to devise plans which will best serve the future growth and development of the city.

6. It seems to us desirable that the policy of having such an investigation should first be approved by the City Council, and that a decision as to the method of creating the suggested commission therefor should be determined later and after a public hearing on that question.

THE DIRECTORS OF THE CITY CLUB OF CHICAGO.

By ALFRED L. BAKER, President.

THE CITY CLUB COMMITTEE ON PASSENGER TRAFFIC,

By SAMUEL DAUCHY, Chairman.

THE CITY CLUB COMMITTEE ON FREIGHT TRAFFIC,

By MICHAEL F. GALLAGHER, Chairman.

THE CITY CLUB COMMITTEE ON STREETS, ALLEYS AND BRIDGES,

By ARTHUR W. BURNHAM, Vice-Chairman.

THE CITY CLUB COMMITTEE ON CITY PLANNING,

By WALTER B. GRIFFIN, Chairman.

THE CITY CLUB COMMITTEE ON HOUSING CONDITIONS,

By ELMER C. JENSEN, Chairman.

When this communication was presented to the Railway Terminals Committee by President Baker of the City Club, the chairman answered that his committee proposed to utilize the Harbor and Subway Commission for expert advice. Mr. Baker replied:

1. That the Harbor and Subway Commission, being already engaged on two very important and difficult questions, was not prepared to give this terminal question the undivided attention needed for a thoroughgoing study.
2. That it would be one thing for the committee to consult across the table with members of that commission and quite another thing to create a commission which should make a comprehensive investigation and issue over their names a written report available to the entire public.

Later, Alderman Merriam, in addressing the committee, pointed out that one member of the Harbor and Subway Commission was then on his way to Europe and that of the other two members only one was familiar with railroad subjects.

The Harbor and Subway Commission later informed the committee that it would be unable on account of other matters to give the terminal question due attention. Thereupon a resolution committing the city to the policy of an expert inquiry and carefully defining its field was presented to the committee by Alderman Fisher. The committee postponed consideration of this proposal for five days. Then it was shelved by a motion of Alderman Donahoe, authorizing the chairman to appoint a committee of five to take up with the Finance Committee the question of securing funds and thereafter to recommend experts to the committee. The five members of this sub-committee—which was thus practically put in charge of the steps for an expert inquiry—the chairman appointed exclusively from those understood to favor the Pennsylvania proposals. He appointed no one, not even the mover of the original motion for an expert investigation, from the opposing minority, which comprised the real advocates of an expert inquiry.

On June 30 the City Council appropriated \$10,000 to enable the Railway Terminals Committee to employ such engineering expert or experts as might be deemed necessary "in the solution of the railway terminal problem confronting the city of Chicago." The next day the sub-committee found and conferred briefly with Mr. John F. Wallace, president of the engineering firm of Westinghouse, Church, Kerr & Co., New York City, at the Union League Club and decided to recommend him as the only expert for the committee.

The Directors and the committees of the City Club, believing that this recommendation ought not to be adopted by the Railway Terminal Committee, addressed to that committee a second communication which was presented by President Baker on July 7, as follows:

July 7, 1913.

ALD. ELLIS GEIGER, CHAIRMAN, AND MEMBERS OF THE CITY COUNCIL COMMITTEE
ON RAILWAY TERMINALS, CITY HALL, CHICAGO.

Gentlemen:—In behalf of the Directors and various committees of the City Club of Chicago we presented to your committee on June 23 last recommendations:

1. That an expert commission, to be paid by the city, should be appointed to make a thorough study of the railroad terminal problem of Chicago and devise plans which would best serve the future of the city.
2. That the method of creating such a commission should be determined after a public hearing on that question.

These recommendations were based upon the conviction not merely that an expert investigation of this subject is demanded, but that if such investigation is to yield its proper results and command public confidence, it is essential that it should be made by a body chosen with the utmost care in order to insure impartiality and scientific authority.

We wish to express our appreciation of the action of the City Council one week ago today in making the appropriation asked for by your committee to enable you to employ expert ability. We are unable to agree with the action of your sub-committee in deciding on the following day, and without giving any public hearing on the question, to recommend that your committee employ the eminent engineer, Mr. John F. Wallace, as your only expert.

We wish accordingly to recommend that your committee employ additional experts, so as to make up a commission of three or five members, and for the following reasons:

(1) Such a commission would represent a greater variety of point of view and carry a greater assurance of comprehensiveness and completeness in its conclusions than could a single member. It is unlikely that any single engineer could be found whose appreciation of the relations of Chicago's railway terminal problem to the commercial, industrial, transportation and residential needs of Greater Chicago would be as many-sided, fair and reliable as would that of a properly chosen commission of three or five members.

(2) The proper treatment of Chicago's railway terminal problem requires the determination, in advance, of certain broad questions of policy affecting the future of the city, and the advice of a commission on those questions would be more valuable than that of an individual. This principle has been recognized by other cities in similar cases, and expert investigations concerning such highly complex and diversified subjects as this terminal problem are usually made by commissions as a matter of sound and conservative practice.

(3) We deem it desirable that such a commission should represent special knowledge not merely of questions of railroad engineering and construction, but also of local and suburban transportation demands, of railroad finance and policy, and of the broad question of city planning as related to the welfare of great cities. We believe that at least one member of this commission, if it comprises three members, and two members of this commission if it comprises five members, should be persons generally accepted as representing distinctively the public point of view in such matters, and as absolutely free, not only from any direct financial or political interest in the issues involved, but from any association—business, professional or otherwise—with railroads or real estate holdings. We believe this to be especially important in view of the fact that Mr. Wallace, upon whose integrity and ability we cast no reflection, has had professional or business relations of unusual extent with the Pennsylvania Railroad Company in connection with its improvements and interests in New York City, Pittsburgh, Chicago and other places, and may naturally anticipate similar relations with that company in the future. We believe that the report of such a commission would be more valuable and would command more public confidence and support than would one by a single expert.

(4) We deem it of vital importance that the field to be covered by the commission in its investigations should be broadly stated by your committee; that it should not be limited merely to a consideration of the terminal proposals made by the Pennsylvania company, nor indeed to those offered thus far by other persons, but that it should include the railway terminal question broadly considered in its relations to the different railroads and to the varied present and future interests of the city and suburbs.

If your committee should decline to appoint a commission as suggested above because of your inability to secure public funds for its pay, we are ready to endeavor to raise the pay for one member of the commission of three or two

members of the commission of five, such members to be agreed upon by your committee and the City Club together with the other organizations which have recommended an expert inquiry as mentioned in our communication to you of June 23 last.

Respectfully submitted,

By ALFRED L. BAKER, President.

In behalf of the Directors of the City Club and
the Committees on Passenger Traffic, on
Freight Traffic, on Streets, Alleys and Bridges,
on City Planning and on Housing Conditions.

The committee, after a brief discussion on the subject, voted 10 to 3 to lay on the table Alderman Littler's motion for a commission of three experts and then adopted the sub-committee's recommendation that Mr. Wallace be employed as the committee's only expert. The report of the sub-committee was oral in form, no written arrangement with Mr. Wallace having been drawn up. A proposal was made by a minority member of the committee that the Council should be asked for additional funds to insure a comprehensive inquiry, but was not adopted.

Feeling that this action would not command public confidence, or secure the sort of an investigation and report required, the Directors of the club, on July 14, sent to the mayor and City Council the following communication:

JULY 14, 1913.

TO THE MAYOR AND ALDERMEN OF THE CITY COUNCIL OF THE CITY OF CHICAGO.

Gentlemen:—The Directors of the City Club desire hereby to submit that the manner in which the steps for expert advice on the railway terminal problem are being carried out does not befit the magnitude and seriousness of that great problem.

The sub-committee which was appointed by the chairman of the Railway Terminals Committee to recommend experts to that committee comprised only persons who had either shown themselves as opposed to an expert investigation or had disclosed no active desire for such an investigation, and contained no one of the three members of the committee who had been the real advocates of such an investigation. The placing of the proposal for such an investigation in the hands of its enemies and the entire exclusion of its active friends from the sub-committee was calculated to impair public confidence both in the procedure of the Railway Terminals Committee and in the work and results of the expert chosen by it.

The decision of the Railway Terminals Committee, by a divided vote, to employ a single expert instead of a commission of three or more experts, was, we believe, unwise. A study of Chicago's railway terminal problem, unless confined to technical questions of construction, or to the proposals of a particular company, is of such magnitude and presents such numerous and diverse aspects and relationships and such questions of municipal policy that it should, as a matter of prudence and sound judgment, be made by a commission representing expert knowledge in other branches of practical science beside engineering. To yield its proper results, such a study should be made by a commission of at least three highly qualified persons in the professions of engineering, architecture and city planning.

The importance of having this investigation made by a commission of experts instead of by a single expert is emphasized by the fact that Mr. John F. Wallace, the single expert chosen, has had such special relationships, business and professional, with the Pennsylvania Railroad Company as might impair the public value of a report by him alone.

The City Club made a written formal offer to the Committee on Railway Terminals, in case that committee could not secure sufficient funds, to try to raise the pay for one member of a commission of three or two members of a commission of five, such members to be chosen by the committee and the City Club, and the City Club now guarantees to provide the funds for that purpose, if desired so to do.

The chairman of the Railway Terminals Committee recently stated to the press that by November 1st the Pennsylvania Company would be building its proposed terminal. This was an extraordinary statement, in view of the fact that that committee is supposed to be awaiting the results of an impartial investigation and to have reached as yet no conclusion as to whether the terminal should or shall be built. Indeed, this statement implies either a pre-judgment of the case in favor of some prearranged plan or that the contemplated investigation is to be narrowed merely to the Pennsylvania proposals alone.

Although Mr. Wallace has begun work, the committee has not defined in writing the field of the inquiry to be made by him, and neither the public nor the committee itself has any reliable knowledge as to the scope of the investigation.

In view—

(1) of the apparent pre-judgment of the case by the chairman of the Railway Terminals Committee,

(2) of the choice of a sub-committee exclusively from the opponents of an expert investigation,

(3) of the substitution of a single expert for the proposed commission,

(4) of the choice of a single expert who has had recent and special business and professional relations with the Pennsylvania Railroad Company, and

(5) of the lack of any due statement of the field of the inquiry,
we submit that the situation demands:

1. That there be a reconsideration of the decision for a single expert, and that provision be made instead for a commission of at least three independent experts, representing the various different aspects of the investigation to be made.

2. That whether the investigation be made by a single expert or by a commission, the scope and field of the investigation be clearly defined in writing, and that this be done in such a way as to insure an inquiry into the railway terminal problem of Chicago as a whole, including the relation of this problem to the question of electrification, local and suburban transportation, possible track rearrangement and the future development of a harmonious plan for greater Chicago.

Respectfully submitted,

THE DIRECTORS OF THE CITY CLUB OF CHICAGO,

By, ALFRED L. BAKER, President.

This communication was presented to the City Council at its meeting on the evening of July 14 and was referred to the Committee on Railway Terminals. Alderman Capitain argued against such reference on the ground that the committee had earlier in the day adjourned for the summer and immediate consideration of the letter could therefore not be had. He indicated his willingness, however, to withdraw his objection if the chairman would agree to call a special meeting of the committee. The chairman stated that no such meeting would be called and further that no meetings were contemplated until after the committee's expert should be ready to submit his report.

THE NATURE OF MONEY

On Friday, May 16, Mr. A. Mitchell Innes, councilor of the British embassy at Washington, addressed the City Club at luncheon on "The Nature of Money." Mr. E. D. Hulbert, who presided, made the following remarks:

E. D. HULBERT: "I suppose the reason I was asked to come here today is because I am somewhat familiar with the work which our guest has been doing, and I am intensely interested in it, because I believe when it comes to be understood it will be of great assistance in settling some of the difficult problems we are working on in banking and finance. When we find men all over the world unable to agree on the solution of a problem with which they are all familiar, it is pretty certain there is some common error at the bottom of it; that there is some false premise that they are all agreed upon. I believe that has been the trouble with our discussion of the money question.

"We have thought that we knew all about the history and nature of money and credit. The text-books and the histories and the encyclopedias are supposed to give us all the facts. Now comes this man from the East to tell us that these so-called facts in the histories and text-books and encyclopedias are not facts at all; that we have simply been acting from false premises, and drawing false conclusions. Our guest has spent many years in an exhaustive study of this subject, and, strange to say, up to this time he has never published anything and has never said very much about it.

"I remember well the first time that I met him. We got into some discussion and I expressed an opinion on economic questions. He looked at me in surprise and said: 'I supposed I was the only man in the world that knew that.' I am glad to say that he has now surrendered the ambition of being the only man in the world that really knows what money is. He is here today to tell us about it. I have great pleasure in introducing, gentlemen, Mr. A. Mitchell Innes, councilor of the British Embassy at Wash-

ington, who will speak to us upon the subject of 'The Nature of Money.'" (Applause.)

Mr. A. Mitchell Innes

"Mr. Chairman and Gentlemen: I have so short a time at my disposal to explain to you certain theories which it took me many years to work out and which it would take me many hours to explain properly, that I will make my introductory remarks very short. It is a particular and special privilege and pleasure to me to be permitted to address this club, and I wish to say that if it had not been for Mr. Hulbert, it is very likely that what I have to say would not have been said. It is through his sympathy, his energy, and his interest that I have been emboldened to try to explain to others certain discoveries—or perhaps I should say a new way of putting certain important problems of economics.

"All economists believe and all economists teach that primitive people lived and today live by barter; that the first progress made from barter to modern commerce was by the discovery of some commodity which everyone would accept and which could be used as an intermediary commodity between two men who wanted to barter their goods, but one of whom did not want the goods of the other.

"As Adam Smith puts it, if the baker and the brewer wanted meat from the butcher, but the butcher did not want bread or beer, being sufficiently provided with those articles, no exchange could take place. It would therefore be the business of the butcher to accumulate and store up some commodity which everyone would take, so that when he wanted bread and beer he would give the common commodity. When the brewer and the baker wanted meat they would give this common commodity, which in turn could be exchanged for all the other commodities.

"This is the foundation upon which all economists base their theories of money. Is it true that, if the brewer and the baker wanted meat, but the

butcher did not want bread or beer, no exchange could take place? It is not true. Honesty is no modern virtue. Those who have traveled as much as I have have found extraordinary honesty among the most primitive and backward races and we may be sure that, when commerce first started, honesty was equally to be found.

Credit the Real Basis of Commerce

"Now, assuming the existence of honesty, what is to prevent the brewer and the baker going to the butcher for meat, and if the butcher does not need bread or beer, what is there to prevent them from giving him a *promise* of so much bread and beer, a promise which could be carried out by law, which the courts would enforce? Once you realize that idea, you realize that no medium is required. It is obvious that a promise is as good as anything else—better. It takes no room, it has no weight, it is transferable from one man to another. If the butcher does not want the bread and beer, he can exchange the promise for other commodities which he does want. Somebody is sure to want them. A promise is the most valuable thing you can have. If you will think it over, you will see that there is absolutely no reason to assume the existence of a third object. In any case, if you find difficulty in accepting my theory, the assumption of the existence of a third intermediary object or medium of exchange does not get rid of your difficulty. It only puts it back a step.

"The medium of exchange does not fall from heaven. How do you get it? You have to buy it. If a commodity is itself the medium of exchange, the owner can only sell it for a promise, unless he wishes to confine his operations to mere barter. If the owners of gold, for example, would only give their gold in exchange for the commodities to supply their daily wants, there would be very little gold in existence. But in fact they do not do so. They sell their gold just as we sell all other commodities—for a promise. There is nothing else they can sell it for.

"I start, then, with the assumption that the first great step in advance was the exchange of a commodity for a promise, or obligation, or credit; that

the great distinction between barter and sale is that, while barter is the exchange of one commodity for another, a sale is the exchange of a commodity for a credit, a credit on someone else.

What Is Credit?

"I must here explain that the word 'credit' merely means the rights that you have over your debtor. It has nothing to do with confidence or character. If I am your debtor and you are my creditor, you have certain rights over me and I have certain obligations towards you. Your rights are your credit, and my obligations are my debt. Credit and debt are two aspects of the same thing.

"Now from the theory of a medium of exchange, economists went on—and this is a later idea—to establish what they called a standard of value. The common commodity for which all other things were bought and sold is supposed to have become naturally the standard of value. Adam Smith tells us that many commodities were used as a medium of exchange, but that finally we came down to gold and silver, which everybody, for some reason or other, found convenient. Thus in silver and sometimes in gold and sometimes in both, we are supposed to have found our standard of value.

"Now, having to my own satisfaction established the fact that there was no necessity for a medium of exchange, and having found that the idea of a metallic standard of value was the result of and arose subsequent to the idea of the medium of exchange, I said to myself: 'If there is no commodity which is a medium of exchange, how can there be a commodity which is a standard of value?'

"This was the beginning of my labor. I set to work to find out, if possible, by historical research whether there was or ever had been a standard of value. That research took me a great deal of time and is, indeed, still going on. Whether it will ever be finished I cannot say. I cannot go into the details of this historical research today. I have been fortunate in being something of a linguist, knowing French, German and Italian. Without those languages it is very difficult to carry out one's historical researches—indeed, a knowledge of French and German are essential, because you

have to go back to the old records of those countries. I went fully into French and English history, the history of Hamburg and the history of Rome and Greece, less fully into the history of the German states and of Venice, and still less fully—because information is wanting—into the history of China. Of all these histories I have found that of France to be the most illuminating. Their records on this subject appear to be the most perfect, the monetary phenomena appear to be the most clearly marked and French historians appear to have devoted more time than others to the study of this subject.

No Metallic Standard of Value

"The result of my studies is this, that it is absolutely certain that there never has existed a metallic standard of value. This can be proved to such complete demonstration, the evidence on this point is so overwhelming, that those who wish to go into the subject, if they have the time to do so, will be just as convinced as I am that the historical facts are incompatible with any possible metallic standard of value. No coins, until quite a modern date have ever been of a weight giving them an intrinsic value equal to their nominal value. They have all been token coins. The amount of metal in them has varied one way or the other.

"During the three hundred years of the Merovingian period there were no laws or regulations at all on coins or currency. During the whole of that time there was the most complete liberty in this respect. You find not only the kings, but bankers, merchants, jewelers, captains of forts or other managers of domains, and ecclesiastical dignitaries, all issuing their own coins, which varied in type and size and were all tokens of base metal. The very earliest of coins, those of the Greek towns on the Asiatic coast of the Mediterranean, were all private tokens composed of a mixture of gold and silver in varying proportions.

"It can be clearly proved from the monetary history of the middle ages that prices never had any fixed relation to the coinage or to any weight of any metal. Silver is supposed to have been the standard of value for many centuries, but in vain kings endeavored to fix the price

of silver and never succeeded in doing so. The chase after the normal or proper price of silver, what French writers called the 'juste prix,' is one of the most interesting things about which you can read. The chase was always unsuccessful. The kings made the most stringent laws, saying that the price of silver must not rise, but they were not successful. We find the price of silver, which is supposed to have been the standard of value, and the price of commodities rising at the same time in different ratios. If the unit of price were a certain mass of metal, you could not have the price of the mass of metal and the price of commodities rising at the same time. It would be impossible. The monetary unit or 'money of account,' as it was called, was in England the pound, with its fractions the shilling and the penny, and in France the *livre* with its fractions the *sou* and the *denier*. The prices of all commodities as well as of the precious metals were fixed in terms of the pound or the *livre* and the price of the precious metals varied constantly without producing any effect on the prices of commodities.

Credit Not a Modern Discovery

"Having to my own satisfaction settled the question that there was no medium of exchange and no standard of value, I said to myself, 'There is another fallacy.' Economists teach that credit is a modern idea, that everything used to be done through coins, and that banking was only discovered in the late middle ages by the Florentines. I said to myself, 'If there is no medium of exchange and if it is true that the great step forward in commerce was from barter to exchange of a commodity for a promise, an obligation, then we must find in history another thing, namely, that credit is not a modern discovery. So I went to work again.

"This time I carried my researches back to 3000 years B. C., which seems to us a very long period, although having seen how ancient our commercial institutions are, it begins to appear to me to be almost modern. I have found credit going back to 3000 years B. C., and I have little doubt that when we discover records of still earlier ages, as I do not doubt we shall one day do, we shall find it going back 10,000 or perhaps 20,000 years. Credit is the oldest thing

we know, the oldest institution. There is no history so old, no records so old, that we cannot find traces of commerce being conducted by means of credit. That is the most interesting fact I have to tell you today.

The Tally System

"How, then, was commerce carried on? You have only to read commercial history in the most superficial way to learn that the idea that commerce was carried on in the middle ages with coins is nonsense. Coins did not even suffice in France for the needs of the government administrations, which made great use of private tokens for making their payments. Besides this, merchants, publicans, manufacturers and shopkeepers issued their private tokens. There were quantities of them throughout every country, but the principal machinery by which commerce was carried on was the wooden tally, a stick of hazel, on which notches were cut to represent a sum of money. When a purchase was made, a tally was issued by the buyer or debtor to the seller or creditor. Suppose I buy from you, I would issue to you a tally. I would notch it in a particular way, and would split it in half so that the notches were on both halves. One-half would be given to you, the creditor, as your money, while the other half would be kept by me, the debtor. That was the debtor's protection against fraud. Practically the whole of commerce was carried on by means of these tallies.

"How these tallies got their value, there being no medium of exchange to serve as a standard of value, is a most difficult thing to explain shortly. This is a most important economic principle. A debt gets its value from the fact, and from no other fact, that the man who owes the debt is also owed money by others. He is not only a debtor but a creditor, and the debt gets its value from the existence of the credits.

"When a debt is presented to the debtor for payment, how does he pay it? Supposing A owes money to B, and B presents his tally to A for payment, how does A pay it? A, who is not only a debtor but also a creditor—everybody being both a debtor and a creditor—picks out from the various tallies which he owns one which records a similar debt

which B owes to him, and by exchanging these tallies both debts are paid. The whole transaction lies in the principle of balancing debts and credits. The debtor must at all times have credits available to meet the debts which are payable by him at the same time. This is the only reason why credits have a value.

"You cannot have credits without selling and you cannot have debts without buying. Every purchase means the creation of a debt, and every sale means the creation of a credit. Out of the right which a credit confers on its owner to cancel a debt due by him arises its value.

Fairs Were Clearing Houses

"Then we find—what is not generally known—that the great clearing houses of the middle ages were the fairs. We generally look on a fair as a place where people congregated partly for a jollification and partly to buy and sell. They were not that at all. The fair was a place where bankers and merchants came from all over the country with their tallies to be cleared. Exchange booths were set up, justices were appointed to settle disputes, and all debts and credits were cleared. It was the common practice to stipulate in contracts that the sum due should be made payable at such and such a fair. Little by little these fairs lost their importance, owing to our better means of and greater safety of communication. We now conduct business by correspondence, and we have a highly organized banking system, so that the old fairs are no longer required. To the great fairs of France there came merchants from all over the world—from England, Spain, Italy, from everywhere—all for the purpose of cancelling their debts and credits, exchanging their tallies.

Ancient Credit Devices

"The wooden tally is, of course, comparatively modern, belonging, so far as we know, to the middle ages, and we have to go further back than that to prove that credit is far older than cash. But we find instruments similar to the wooden tallies in ages long before the invention of coins. In their discoveries of ancient money hoards, archæologists have found a number of objects, the nature of which has not hitherto been understood and which are really tallies. In

Italy, a thousand years before there were any coins—that is, in the second millennium B. C.—a number of pieces of metal have been found, mostly of an oblong shape and less frequently circular, while the most primitive are of no particular shape. The more advanced ones all bear a stamp or seal. Some of these ancient metal cakes were of an alloy of silver, but the Italian ones were of an alloy of copper, generally with about thirty per cent or more of iron, which would take away all their value as copper. These cakes were formerly held to have been standard weights of the metal which formed the medium of exchange and were supposed to be exchanged for commodities by weight. But when this idea was established it was not known that they were heavily alloyed with iron and other metals. The curious thing about them is that every one of them, with rare exceptions, was broken. I mean a piece was broken off, and broken off intentionally, when the metal was still hot. There was a mark made with a chisel, to fix the place where the break should be made. Then a blow with a hammer broke the metal at that place, leaving a jagged edge. The metal was of such a heat that it was soft enough to allow a slight running of the metal on the jagged edges, so as to remove the sharpness, but not sufficient to prevent their joining perfectly. That was the tally; there is no other explanation of the breaking of the metal and of the seal on it. The seal was the seal of the debtor, and, as no two pieces of metal would break in the same way, the debtor who kept one piece was protected from fraud just as he was by the splitting of the stick in the middle ages. The debtor kept the small part, and the larger part was given to the creditor. It was his money. Similar metal tallies have been found in the hoards of ancient Germany and in the Greek colonies of Sicily. They are always found broken.

"Contract Tablets"

"Then if we go back further to the great commercial country of Babylonia we find that the commonest of all the discoveries of commercial instruments are the so-called contract tablets, tablets of baked clay bearing the statement, 'Received so much of corn, or some other

commodity, from so and so,' and signed and sealed by the receiver. These tablets have been regarded as loans, but when you realize that credit was the system by which commerce was carried on you realize that they represented not loans but sales, that they were the evidence of the credit and the debt created by a sale and purchase.

"The nature of these tablets is especially clear from the so-called 'case-tablets.' The tablet itself of baked clay was entirely inclosed in an outer case or envelope of baked clay, without breaking which the inner tablet could not be seen or reached. This exterior envelope was inscribed with the whole contract and bore the name and seal of the receiver, the receiver being, of course, the debtor. The internal tablet briefly recorded the transaction and had no seal. That was for the protection of the debtor. You could not tamper with the inside tablet without breaking the case, and you could not tamper with the case without the difference being seen on comparing it with the inside tablet. You will, I think, realize that this explanation of the nature of these tablets is correct.

"Turning now to the history of China, you find a similar situation. Three thousand years B. C. you get tokens and you find a system of banking. Indeed, so far as I have been able to find out, the Chinese coinage has never been anything else than a token coinage.

"I come now to another point. How do you deal with these debts and credits, how do you bring them together to be cancelled, the one against the other? It is clear that, in accordance with the principles which I have explained to you, if A owes money to B, A can only pay his debt to B by going to C, who has a credit on B, and saying, 'Give me that debt which B owes to you, in order that I may pay it to B in satisfaction of my debt to him. In exchange you are at liberty to take any of the goods which I sell up to the amount of the debt which you hand over to me.' In theory this is the way in which all commerce is conducted, but in practice it is evident that this exact procedure could only be used while commerce was being carried on in a very narrow circle, within the limits, let us say, of a single village. But as commerce

took a wider range, it would be impossible for A to find anyone who possessed a credit on B; B's creditors might be in distant towns or in distant parts of the same city.

Rise of the Merchant

"Thus there arose the merchant, whose business it was to centralize the debts and credits of the community. His place of meeting was the market, and there the traders came to get their debts and credits balanced. The merchant was part banker, part trader. He not only bought and sold goods, but he bought debts and gave the owner in exchange a credit on himself. He thus centralized the debts and credits of his clients and kept their accounts. The modern banker is merely a more highly specialized merchant. He, like the merchant, buys the debts and credits of the community and centralizes them so that they can be cleared, the one against the other. This centralizing and clearing of the debts and credits of the community is the real, legitimate business of the banker. He does not create debts and credits; it is the buyers and sellers who create them. The banker buys them.

"If you buy an article from me, you give me an acknowledgment of debt, a bill of exchange or promissory note. I sell this note to the banker, who thus becomes my debtor and your creditor. This principle is more clearly seen in Europe, where nearly all banking business is done through the discounting of bills of exchange and promissory notes, than in America, where business is chiefly done through loans. I have not time now to go into the question of the nature of a loan, but I will merely say that there is no difference of principle between a loan and the discounting of a bill. Both are identical in effect, though the mechanism is slightly different.

"I will now deal with the practical bearing which this new theory of money has on a very important modern problem. It is an historical fact that all coins, until quite late years, were tokens. The idea of a coin possessing an intrinsic value equal to its nominal value is very modern indeed. But in the middle ages there grew up an idea that it was necessary for the government to do all it could to fix the price of the precious metals

and to prevent that price from rising. These attempts were never successful, and indeed no attempt to fix the price of the precious metals was successful till the nineteenth century.

"Now it may be said that, although it may be true that in the middle ages we had no medium of exchange or standard of value, at least we have one now. We have a dollar or a pound which are definite weights of gold and which are the standard of value. But I think you will realize that it is impossible to conceive that we have changed our system of commerce in the nineteenth century. Commerce has gone on for countless ages in exactly the same manner, without any sudden change, and it is impossible to conceive that so great and sudden a change as the adoption of a metallic standard of value could have occurred without producing an equally sudden effect which could be felt and known. But no such change can be perceived, and it is indeed inconceivable that it should ever have taken place.

What Is Coinage?

"But if a coin is not a medium of exchange and measure of value, what is it? I have already told you that a debt acquires its value because the debtor is also a seller and by his sales he obtains credits on others with which he can counterbalance his debts. A coin is simply a token of the debt of a government. A government issues its coins to those whom it has to pay for services rendered—this is the theory but not altogether the modern practice. They are the acknowledgments of debt given by the government; they are the government's promissory notes. But a government, unlike a private person, sells nothing and cannot therefore, by selling, acquire credits with which to redeem its notes and give them a value.

"The value of a coin is thus acquired: The government compels certain persons, whom we call taxpayers, to become the legal debtors of the government. They do not really owe the government anything, but they are forced to be the debtors of the government. The government declares, for example, that if you import goods from abroad, each of you shall owe the government so much on these goods. You become, therefore, the legal

debtor of the government. How are you to pay the debt? Just as a private debtor does. You have to get from someone a credit on the government, a promissory note which the government has given someone in payment of a purchase or a service. When you have obtained this promissory note, you hand it back to the government and your debt, your tax, is paid.

"Now this is a very difficult thing to understand at first. It requires a good deal of careful thought, but after you have thought it over you will find it gradually becomes easy to understand, and explains in a simple manner all our monetary problems. Let me repeat: The government issues promissory notes (coins) to all the people whom it has to pay. It forces by law people whom we call taxpayers to get hold of these promissory notes and pay them back to the government to cancel their debt—which is a legal obligation, though they have bought nothing from the government.

"Now, how do you get hold of these obligations with which to pay your debt? Only by selling. If I own a coin or a gold certificate, a promissory note of the government, and you are a taxpayer, you have to get that coin or note from me, or the government may sell your property in satisfaction of the tax. You can only get it by selling goods to me. You have to sell to me for nothing, in order that you may be able to pay your debt to the government. You get no advantage out of the sale; you simply cancel your debt to the government. This is how a coin or government certificate gets its value.

"I come to the last and most difficult part of the theory to understand. If the dollar is not a weight of metal, what is it? Now remember this, we had the dollar long before we fixed its weight in a metal, long before we fixed the price of any metal. In England we had the shilling in early Saxon times, ages before there can have been any idea of having a fixed price of silver or gold.

Dollar an Abstract Unit

"The dollar is an arbitrary, abstract idea. It is not contained in any commodity, metal or otherwise. It is a word to express a unit of debt. This is a very difficult idea to get hold of, and this is

where the economists differ from me, very nicely and kindly, but sometimes rather excitedly. They say: 'You are talking nonsense; you cannot have such a thing as an abstract dollar; you must be able to see it.' But if you think carefully you will find that, after all, perhaps, it is not so difficult as it appears to understand that a dollar is a mere abstraction. Every measure is an arbitrary abstraction. A yard is an abstract idea; no one has ever seen a yard. It is a distance between two points; it is not anything tangible. There is no theoretic reason why we should have a stick to measure a yard with. The only reason why we must have one is because our eyes are not accurate enough to measure a yard without help of this kind. Again, no one has ever seen a pint. You can see the receptacle which contains a pint, but you cannot see a pint. It is an abstract idea, a quantity of volume, whatever that may be. Any mathematician can understand the idea of an abstract, intangible, arbitrary unit, but we who are not mathematicians have difficulty in doing so.

"We believe that our dollar is a weight of gold and that the gold dollar is intrinsically worth the dollar which is stamped on it. But in fact it is not. On the theory that these things are obligations or debts of the government, it does not matter what their intrinsic value is. They may have the intrinsic value of a dollar or they may not. Their value does not depend upon the amount of gold in them, but on the obligation of the government to take them back at the price which is stamped on them. Supposing the government did not so stamp them, so as to give them the character of an obligation, but merely certified that they were of a certain weight of gold of a certain fineness; this would not give the coins the value of a dollar. This value is solely due to the government obligation with which they are stamped—to this and to nothing else.

"If the intrinsic market value of the of the coin, the coin would be used in commerce as metal. If you have wheat stored in an elevator and are willing to sell it at its market price, you could not keep it, because the term 'market price' means the price at which it will all be absorbed in commerce, that is the price

at which, in fact, you can get rid of it. Consequently, when you see gold being stored in vaults and constantly increasing in quantity, as it is at present, it is a certain sign that it is being held at a price above its market value, that its official price exceeds its market value.

"Now, according to the theory that the coins are tokens of government debt, as soon as they are stamped, the government must levy taxes sufficient to redeem the coins, but they do nothing of the kind. They go on accepting all the gold that is brought to them and stamping it with their obligation to accept it at its official price; but they levy no taxes equivalent to the amount of the obligations thus issued.

Fall in Value of Monetary Unit

"What happens? Is is just the same as if I were to go on issuing promissory notes, and did not sell enough to get credits wherewith to redeem those notes when they became due. My credit would fall; that is to say, my monetary unit would fall in value. It is precisely the same with coins. Their value is falling, because there are no debts due to the government for the payment of which

the coins can be used. So they continue to accumulate in the banks and the value of the dollar continues to fall. But owing to the operation of the law of legal tender, the dollar cannot actually go to a discount, as it would otherwise do, so the fall has to express itself in a rise of prices. Now it is not only the excessive issue of government debt which induces a rise of prices. But this excessive debt is used as a basis for a still greater excess of loans made by the banks, and this great body of superabundant debts and credits is causing a serious depreciation of the monetary unit of all countries, and especially of America.

"So long as the government continues to buy all the gold produced at a fixed price above its market value and continues to stamp it with its obligation, so long will the value of the dollar fall, and so long will the present rise of the price of commodities continue. And we shall not return to a normal condition of commerce until we realize that by the present system of currency we are not obeying a high economic law, but are merely following the late medieval idea that gold was in some way or other the standard of value." (Applause.)

THE NOISE PROBLEM IN CHICAGO

Dr. Willis O. Nance, chairman of the City Council Committee on Health and of its Sub-Committee on the Reduction of Unnecessary Noise, addressed the City Club at luncheon on Tuesday, June 17, 1913. Elmer S. Batterson, chairman of the City Club Committee on the Reduction of Noise, presided. He said:

CHAIRMAN BATTERSON—"A well known author once said that in his opinion the most crucial test of the advance of civilization of any country might be applied in three points: One, upon the character of public roads; two, the condition of women, and third, the minimizing of noise. Two of these points have had considerable attention by our state Legislatures and other bodies already and it seems high time that we should take up the third point, the reduction of unnecessary noise.

"As we look into this question we find that there has been an apparently very great lack of interest in it. If you go to the Public Library, you will find that the subject of noise is not even honored with a single card in the card index. In the John Crerar Library we find that all the books listed on the subject are written in the German language. If you examine the magazine articles, you find that during the last twenty-five years the number of helpful articles on this subject has not averaged more than one a year. This does not indicate that the subject is not important, but rather that the people have not appreciated the harmful effect of noise.

Progress and the Noise Nuisance

"If you think for a moment of the great advances that have been made in the methods of public conveyance during the past few years, you will realize that for every step that we have made in advance there has been corresponding harm in another direction by the noise incident to the new method of travel. First we had the tinkling bell of the horse car, then came the cable car, and after it came the trolley car. With each step there came an increase in the weight of the rolling stock and an extra rattle

of the wheels and of the machinery, and an extra screech of the wheels as they went around the curves. As the speed was increased, the motorman seemed to think that he had to make more noise to make people get out of the way.

"When the elevated arrived, the elevated had all these features and in addition a kind of a sounding board, which not only distributed the noise over the city, but sent out the vibrations and carried the jar of the passing trains with it.

"We all welcomed the skyscraper when it came, for we reasoned that we could put our offices on the nineteenth floor above the noise of the street. But we forgot that even if we had our office on the nineteenth floor another steel building and still another would be built in the same block, and that the steel riveter would continue unmuffled, perhaps for a couple of months, fastening the steel together, but tearing asunder the delicate mechanism of our ears.

"We welcomed the automobile, the passenger and the auto trucks. We said, 'With our asphalt streets and rubber tired vehicles, what quiet streets we will have.' But the little autos became big autos and with the big autos came increased horse-power and with the increased horsepower came increased speed, and the motorist said: 'Now, I will break the speed limit and will go as fast as I wish,' and so he got a horn which could be heard a mile in order to frighten the man ten feet in front of him.

"If civilization continues to advance we may well ask where we will arrive in relation to noise. Many are giving serious thought to the apparent paradox concerning progress and noise and a few lovers of humanity are giving much of their time to a study of this subject in an endeavor to discover the real seat of the trouble and the most effective possible remedy. Our own City Council is now being closely watched by the city fathers of many municipalities, for it happens that a man of sound ideas and with the viewpoint of a physician, as well as of a suffering citizen, has been

chosen to conduct an anti-noise campaign in Chicago. Those of you who read the daily papers and are watchful of Chicago's best interest need no further introduction to the speaker of today, Dr. Willis O. Nance, of the City Council, whose subject will be "The Noise Problem in Chicago." (Applause.)

Ald. Willis O. Nance

"Chicago is reputed to be one of the noisiest large cities in the world. Whether it is the noisiest of all is naturally a matter of pure conjecture. Experienced world travelers, people who have spent months and years in the larger centers of various part of the world, tell us that Chicago, in comparison with most of them, is decidedly noisy.

"Noise in any community may be, and usually is, a distinct sign of progress and frequently of prosperity. It is true that no large city of importance can be made noiseless. However, everybody knows that much of the noise of metropolitan life is absolutely unnecessary and it is for the suppression or elimination of the latter that a campaign is being carried on in Chicago today.

"As effective campaigns for the physical cleanliness of municipalities have of recent years been promulgated and developed throughout the land, resulting in cleaner streets, cleaner atmosphere and a more general habitable order of things, so may our propaganda for the lessening of certain noises in Chicago result in making ours a more attractive and healthful city in which to live. As the spotless town of poetry may never attain the realms of idealism, nor the noiseless city of our fancy achieve the acme of complete realization, yet our efforts along these lines will, I feel quite sure, result in much good to the body politic and to our individual selves.

"During the two decades that the speaker has lived in Chicago he has been impressed with the large amount of noise which more or less continually pervades the atmosphere in many parts of this great city. Several years ago he took a trip abroad, spending in one city—Berlin—nearly a year, the nature of his work requiring that he live near the center of the city's business activities. The difference in the amount of noise prevalent in the business districts of

Chicago and the German metropolis, cities of about the same size, made a deep impression upon his mind. He could not help but believe that we of the city by the lake were making too much noise and he believes so today. Moreover, he does not believe that he is looking at the noise problem through the glasses of impracticability nor the eyes of a neurasthenic or a fanatic. He is quite sure that he has never been afflicted with neurasthenia, and in the urban section of the city in which he resides, notwithstanding the early visit of the milkman, the delightful matutinal greeting of the neighbor's prize Leghorn, and the early clanging of the ecclesiastic chimes, he usually secures, without difficulty, the requisite 8 or 9 hours seance with the god of rest and sleep.

Noise a Cause of Nervous Disease

"As a medical man, perhaps, has the subject of unnecessary noises been brought more prominently to my attention than it has to the average citizen. There can be no question of doubt that noise is a decided causative factor in many nervous diseases. There is little doubt that many nervous wrecks are created yearly in Chicago by the incessant din and clamor to which many of us are continually subjected. The sensitive nervous system of the city dweller is especially prone to the assaults and onslaughts of the violence of confusion, in another word, noise, and suffers a serious drain as a consequence. Several well known literary men have recorded their views on the noise question. A well known example is that of Carlyle, who pays his respects to noise in general and steam whistles in particular by saying, 'That which the world torments me in most is the awful confusion of noise. It is the devil's own infernal din all the blessed day long, confounding God's works and His creatures. A truly awful hell-like combination, and the worst of it all is the railway whistle, like the screech of ten thousand cats and every cat of them all as big as a cathedral.'

"Everyone knows that rest and quiet are Nature's best medicines and that in case of severe illness, the physician orders these remedies. There are in Chicago approximately 60,000 sick people every day, many of whom are suffer-

ing from some nervous trouble, who require and should receive all the consideration it is in our power to give them. They are entitled to protection from the awful din; the municipality owes it to them; society should give it to them.

"As an etiologic factor in certain varieties of deafness, noise is recognized by otologists generally. That the auditory nerve and the delicate mechanism of the ear, of which there is none more intricate and sensitive in the human body, eventually resists the violent onslaught of numerous and unnecessary noises and permanently loses more or less of its acuteness is admitted by all who have given the matter any amount of study. The generally recognized application of this principle is plainly shown in the case of boiler-makers, who spend many hours a day in a more or less constant din, practically all of whom are deaf. This phase of the noise problem was given considerable attention at the meeting of the International Congress of Otologists held at Boston last year.

Noise and Economic Efficiency

"In addition to the health phase of the noise problem there is that relating to its economic aspect, a feature of considerable proportions. The latter may be considered from standpoints of business inefficiency and loss in property values. Everyone knows that it is impossible to attain any high degree of efficiency in any line of endeavor or work that requires any exercise of the mind in the midst of a constant din. I believe I am safe in estimating that human efficiency is reduced in certain parts of Chicago at least 25 per cent by a more or less clatter or clamor amid the surroundings in which many men and women are required to work. It may be said that there is such a thing as getting accustomed to certain varieties and degrees of noise to such an extent that little harm results either to one's health or working efficiency. This may be possible for a varying period of time but it must be admitted that the cumulative, if not the present effect of such violence, is bound to manifest itself disastrously. We all know that our best brain work is done in an atmosphere of quiet.

"Property values in Chicago and in

every other large city are markedly depreciated as the result of the noise nuisance. Few people enjoy living contiguous to a railroad right of way and being obliged to listen to a more or less constant ringing of bells, blowing of whistles, etc., morning, noon and night, weekdays and Sundays. Of course, nobody who locates near a railroad hopes for the beatific tranquility incident to the surroundings of a public burial-ground, but he expects, or at least has a right to expect, that the operation of the system will be conducted in a manner as considerate as possible for the welfare of the public. Why, in the present state of elevation of practically all railroad tracks in Chicago, it is necessary for an engineer to keep the locomotive bell in constant action and the screeching whistle tied down sometimes for a distance of a block or more in the middle of the night is more than some people can figure out.

Noise Depreciates Property Values

"The loss of property values incident to noise has at least once been recognized by the courts in the case of a Boston theater, the owners of which were awarded damages to the amount of more than \$60,000 on account of noise resulting from the operation of an elevated road. One of the complainants before the present City Council anti-noise committee reported that the rental value of some of his apartment property, located near a surface street railroad, was decreased \$800 a year owing to the noise caused by the passing cars.

"Crusades against unnecessary noises have been carried on in various parts of the world for many years. Professor Edward S. Morse of Salem, Mass., one of the persistent and practical American students of the question of unnecessary noises in cities, says in his meritorious little work on 'The Steam Whistle as a Menace to Public Health,' that the struggle against useless noises 'has evidently been long, as political posters were found on the walls of Pompeii in which the main plank for the candidate's platform was the suppression of street noises, and this was nearly nineteen hundred years ago!'

"European cities are much in advance of those of our own country in the suppression of unnecessary noises, as

every traveler knows. Yet we of America have made some progress along this line. Professor Morse in Massachusetts and Mrs. Isaac L. Rice in New York City have headed movements in their respective localities which have accomplished much for the public good. Mrs. Rice, after persistent efforts, succeeded in bringing about a better control of the blowing of steamboat whistles in New York, being only successful after having passed by Congress an act giving the supervising inspector of boats the right to regulate whistling done by the boats under his jurisdiction. It is said that as a result of the enforcement of this law that 85 per cent of the unnecessary noise from whistling was eliminated. Up to this time, efforts to influence boat owners, municipal and state officials to abate this nuisance had been of no avail. Even our own Chicago took up the matter of suppression of useless noises seriously a number of years ago, and in 1884 the City Council went so far as to pass an ordinance classifying city noises as unavoidable, tolerable and intolerable, and prescribed regulations for the tolerable and a system of fines for the intolerable. The mayor promptly vetoed it.

The Anti-Noise Campaign in Chicago

"The present agitation in this city began about a month ago. The speaker introduced an order in the City Council, which was passed, directing the Health Committee to take up for consideration the question of unnecessary noises in Chicago and to report back to the Council such resolutions, orders or ordinances as, in its judgment, might be necessary to bring about a better control of such noises as were considered detrimental to the health and comfort of the people. The committee delegated the investigation of the matter to a sub-committee of five aldermen, the chairman of which is your speaker today. The sub-committee took up the work immediately and decided to hold a series of public hearings and invited the public to appear and present their complaints and to offer any suggestions that they might see fit. The press assisted materially by giving publicity to the propaganda and the chairman of the anti-noise committee of this club called upon the speaker and volunteered his aid and co-operation

"Three public hearings have been held

to date. They have all been extremely interesting and instructive. Many citizens have appeared personally and hundreds of complaints have been considered. The number, character and sincerity of the complaints received have demonstrated to the committee the widespread interest of the subject and the really serious phase of the whole matter. One man appealed in behalf of his invalid wife—seriously ill from tuberculosis—and related the tortures and torments under which she was suffering from noises incident to the constant pounding of a gasoline engine in a near-by shop. One prominent railroad official came to tell of the sufferings of his wife, who was verging on insanity. His complaint was concerning the frequent and hideous noise of the automobile cut-out at all hours of the night in one of the choicest residence districts of the city. His frequent appeals for relief to the police, he said, had been of no avail. One woman appealed for relief from the harrowing cries of various hucksters who made life miserable for her husband, who was seriously ill from typhoid fever. One man complained of the almost nightly hideous screeching of the steamboats on the river which at times lasts for periods of from five to ten minutes, and rightfully wanted to know why it was considered necessary to awaken and keep awake many thousands of people within a radius of several miles, simply to awaken or arouse the bridge tender a block away to warn him to attend to a matter of duty for which he was well paid. Mr. Eames MacVeagh invited the committee to visit his office and listen to the roaring of the elevated trains as they rounded the loop. Dr. Robert H. Babcock, Chicago's prominent blind physician, protested against the intolerable nocturnal noise of the automobile cut-out and the unnecessary hideous screeching of the boat whistles on the river.

"One gentleman from Kenwood, a teacher, wrote a long letter of complaint and also appeared before the committee protesting that he was driven almost to distraction by the crowing of his neighbors' roosters. He said that in the block in which he lived there were at least ten flocks of chickens and from the amount of suffering that he had been obliged to withstand, he felt quite sure that the

male members of each flock made up quite a respectable proportion of the chicken population. He had made every possible effort to protect himself from the nerve-racking, chanticleeric, early morning serenade, including the covering of his head, the stuffing of his ears with cotton, the battening of his bedroom windows, appeals to his neighbors to either dispose of their fowls or to keep them shut up in the dark until a reasonable hour, but all to no avail.

"Fifty-seven Varieties" of Noise

"Complaints against the flat car wheel, the worn rail, the railroad crossing bell, the crossing policeman's whistle, church bells, automobile horns, noisymotorcycles, carpet beating, the rattling of the milkman's cans and bottles, the summer garden's alleged music, barking dogs and screeching cats, the newsboys, nocturnal band practice, and even the rah rah boys all came in for consideration. In fact it seems to have proven beyond the shadow of a doubt that the traditional 57 varieties of noise are present in Chicago, and the grave feature of the whole situation is that these complaints were all seriously made. It is moreover the belief of the committee that most of these noises are absolutely unnecessary and uncalled for in a large community like Chicago.

"Another feature of the subject that struck the committee very forcibly is the apparent lack of consideration for the comfort and feelings of the citizens of this city by the public generally insofar as it relates to the noise nuisance. In practically every instance complained of it appeared that protest had been made, and in many cases repeatedly, to persons who certainly had it in their power to minimize or suppress the cause of the disturbance, and it was the rare exception that anything at all had been done to remedy or alleviate the conditions complained of.

Some Letters

"Here are a few complaints which I received by mail this morning:

June 13, 1913.

Alderman Willis O. Nance.

Dear Sir:—Having followed with interest the work of your committee on city noises, I write to call your attention to a matter which has had no mention in the papers at all except insofar as Mr. Gregory of the Chicago Auto Trades Association was quoted. That is the

noise made by our army of motorcyclists in running their machines with open cut-outs, a two-cylinder motorcycle going at about 40 miles per hour, as they usually do, making as much noise as a modern machine gun. These cycle fiends, for such they are, delight in this particular kind of noise, it being music in their ears, so to speak. I am reminded of an acquaintance of mine who exchanged a single cylinder machine for a two-cylinder, and upon asking him the reason for doing this he replied that in riding with the cut-out open he enjoyed the noise of the "double spit" to that of the "single spit," and you can have my word for it his cut-out was always open and the "double spit" firing away.

Living on Garfield boulevard (55th st.) as I do, one of the most widely used boulevards of the city, I have had plenty of time and opportunity through a spell of illness, lasting now nearly 14 months, to study and observe the noises made by vehicles using the street. I would list these as follows in the order that I believe these noises are offensive to the public:

1. *Motorcycles.* Noise invariably due to open cut-outs, and as motorcyclists usually go in pairs or six to ten at a time the noise is in proportion to the number of machines. Speed averages 30 miles per hour.

2. *Automobiles.* Noise usually due to machine itself or nonsensical blowing of horn. Family parties as a rule only go about 15 miles per hour and are practically noiseless; however, the worst noise is made by "joy riders," tin horn sports, taxi-cabs, etc., pests that infest the street between 11 p. m. and 3 a. m. and make sleeping on a summer night between these hours nearly impossible. Never saw a policeman stop or make an arrest of any auto or motorcycle on this boulevard for noise making or speeding and have lived here for 16 years, but this does not mean that there is none. These night pests know no speed limit.

3. *Auto police patrols, fire insurance patrols, trucks used by South Park Commissioners.* These are extra heavy machines, weighing not less than 10,000 pounds, and thunder along through the street at their own rate of speed. Houses are jarred to the foundations by these "Dreadnoughts" of the boulevards.

Trusting what I have said may serve as a reminder to you and your committee, especially in regard to motorcycles, I am,

Very truly yours,

.....

* * *

June 14, 1913.

Dr. W. O. Nance, 32 N. State street, Chicago.

Dear Sir:—I would like to call your attention to the gasoline engine and exhaust which is run by the at

This engine is run without any muffler, or at least any muffler worth while, on the engine, and during the warm nights they run this all night long, making it an absolute impossibility for people in that neighborhood to sleep.

We have repeatedly complained of this to the Health Department, and to the police force, but so far have not been able to do anything to stop it.

This is a very serious menace to the health and comfort of all the people living in that vicinity. It is impossible to sleep unless we keep the windows closed; and after this engine was installed last summer I found it necessary to stop using my bedrooms and put beds in the front part of the house where this could not be heard so distinctly.

If there is anything that can be done to stop this nuisance I wish you would do so, or advise me what steps can be taken. I feel that to go through another summer with this nuisance will be entirely impossible.

Awaiting your kindly advice in this matter, and thanking you for anything that you may do, I am

Yours very truly,

.....

* * *

June 16, 1913.

Dr. Willis O. Nance, City Alderman and
Chairman Noise Committee.

Dear Sir:—I am a business woman of mature years and have lived for thirty years at All of last summer (and it has now begun again with the time of opening doors and windows) the days when I am at home have been pandemonium and the nights horrible nightmares all because of a mechanical piano that plays almost incessantly at the saloon, the playing beginning by eight o'clock a. m. and keeping it up until midnight and after. The saloon is a very disreputable one, coming here a year ago from the "Red Light" district when the 22d st district was "swept," the man boasting then that he would simply move his "red light" over to this neighborhood. A few weeks ago I wrote, police captain of this district, laying the whole matter before him and begging to have the nuisance abated, saying that I understood the "music" was a *privilege* and not a *right* given with his license. The next night two "plain clothes" men came to my house to "palaver" apparently. They admitted the music was very annoying (hearing it themselves), also that it was a privilege, but said Captain had no power to stop it, the privilege being granted by Mayor Harrison, and intimating that he did not seem inclined to revoke it! Does Mayor Harrison, when he appoints noise committees and advocates reforms, do it (as the children say) with "his fingers crossed?" Is there *any* power in Chicago that can dispose of this nuisance, and if so what is it? Dispose of it entirely, I mean, not ameliorate it.

Very truly yours,

.....

* * *

June 16, 1913.

Alderman Nance.

Dear Sir:—We are troubled with very unnecessary noises which I will endeavor to explain to you. We have a neighbor next door to us who gets up at 3:45 a. m. and chops

wood and throws in coal. When that is done, she starts up a washing machine, run by water, at 4 a. m. She opens up her basement windows and from a sanitary standpoint this should have attention. The odor from her washing is something awful. My bedroom window is right over the washing machine and I assure you, Mr. Nance, there is no rest after 3:30 in the morning. We spoke to them in a nice, kind way and her son-in-law threatens to "knock the head off of my husband." This woman's name is, and she is running a laundry in a resident district, which, as I understand, a law passed in Springfield forbids. She does washing 4 days out of 6 and she does not work through necessity, as she owns an elegant stone front building, valued at \$8,500, and her son-in-law is steadily employed by the City Railway Company. I am not making this complaint through malice, simply I want things sanitary and quiet. I can get three other neighbors to testify that my complaint is just. My husband is a politician and would write you himself, but he has rheumatism in his right arm, so I am doing this for him and trust that you will take up this matter, and thereby secure rest for three different families.

Trusting to hear from you, I am

Yours very truly,

.....

* * *

"It would be very difficult indeed to venture a guess as to what Chicago's worst individual noise nuisance is—the noises are so diversified as to their nature and intensity and even as to their location. In downtown Chicago perhaps 20 or 30 of the total number of the 57 classified noises are present more or less all the time during the day. Together they comprise a bedlam which in its aggregate is unquestionably shattering our nerves and indirectly shortening our lives.

Elevated Railways

"The elevated railway trains are among the worst offenders in the downtown district and on certain streets where they run through a part of the city thick with houses, offices and stores. The evil incident to the noisy elevated roads is a serious matter to the people not only in and adjacent to the loop district, but out in Woodlawn where the tracks run over 63d street, the principal business thoroughfare of that section of the city, for a long distance, the citizens are up in arms about it. Just how to minimize the amount of noise made in the operation of these trains is considerable of a problem. It has been studied for many years by engineers not

only in this country, but in Europe as well. More than one plan has been submitted to the Council committee, which will be taken up in conference with the city engineers, and an earnest study will be made of the problem. It is possible that if the matter had been carefully gone into before the construction of the present right-of-way that Chicago today might have had as noiseless a system as has Berlin and other European cities. Or perhaps possibly when the subway is completed—when it is—we may then not need to worry about our ornamental and noisy downtown Chinese wall.

Pavements

"Another contributory factor to noisy Chicago, especially in the downtown district, is the old cobble stone pavement. The only advantage that it seems to possess is that it is hard and, I presume, durable. In this day and age, it seems to me, it has no place in a modern city. I cannot imagine any good reason why we are obliged further to suffer from its existence. It is possible the city officials are waiting for the stones to wear out before removing our present supply. It seems to be next to impossible and exceedingly expensive to keep our streets clean with this kind of pavement and I believe everybody admits that it is the noisiest of all. Wooden blocks at least have the advantage of deadening much of the sound and their smooth surface makes the keeping of the roadway clear of dirt and filth easy and economical.

Street Cars

"Then, again, the surface street cars make too much noise in the downtown district and also in the outlying territory. The motorman's gong, I don't believe is nearly as loud or is used as aggressively as was the case a number of years ago and yet it is still too noisy. The rail connections, especially at junction points, seem to be in many instances too loose and in many cases the cars almost jump over the rails, adding much to the sum total of apparently useless noises. There cannot be much excuse for the continued use of the so-called "flat wheel" and yet on certain lines of this city they are not at all uncommon, adding much to the annoyance and discomfort of our citizens. The use of the flat wheel should be prohibited.

Vehicular Traffic

"The loose packing of heavy merchandise when transported through the streets adds to the atmospheric din. Especially is this the case with heavy steel building construction material. So serious did this nuisance become in New York that the city had passed an ordinance, which is strictly enforced, requiring the careful packing of this merchandise. The enactment and enforcement of a similar law in Chicago would assist in making our city less noisy.

Crossing Whistles

"The shrill blast of the crossing policeman's whistle in the downtown district has been objected to by many citizens. It is said to be decidedly objectionable and irritating to people who spend a good part of their time on the streets or who are employed in stores and offices on the first floors of large buildings within the loop. There seems to be no legitimate reason why police officers cannot control traffic in Chicago streets by hand signals as is done with perfect success in London and other foreign cities, or that less penetrating whistles be employed. If other street noises were reduced it would not be necessary to use a whistle that can be heard a distance of 2 or 3 blocks in a still atmosphere to signal to a teamster 30 to 40 feet away. I would like to see the noiseless white glove signal tried out in Chicago. I believe that after a short time it would prove effective and satisfactory.

Motor Vehicles

"There has been much complaint concerning the noisy operation of automobiles and motorcycles in Chicago, and justly so, I believe. Several years ago, before the mechanism of these motor vehicles was perfected, there might have been some excuse for it, but in this day of mechanical perfection the auto should be practically silent in its operation. In most instances, I believe, there can be absolutely no reason for complaint of noisy operation of automobiles. A small minority of drivers, however, evidently believe it to be the height of propriety and exceedingly clever to make about all the noise they can while in the public streets. These gentlemen seem to be in the class of those who

violate the speed laws. They are absolutely inconsiderate of the welfare of the public and are to be classed among the undesirables. They usually have 40 to 60 horse-power engines and throw open the muffler as they tear down the street, usually between the hours of 11 p. m. and 2 or 3 o'clock in the morning, awakening everyone within a radius of several blocks. They usually also possess a horn of a volume 3 or 4 times greater than there is any legitimate necessity for, which is also kept busy. The abuse of the cut-out muffler by such people as I have mentioned is responsible for the consideration by the Council committee at the present time of the recommendation of the passage of an ordinance which will prohibit the operation of a car on the streets which is equipped with a cut-out that can be operated by the driver from his seat. There is already an ordinance prohibiting the use of the cut-out in Chicago, but until the present anti-noise agitation little attempt had been made to enforce it.

Automobile Horns

"The question of automobile horns is also being considered by the committee and it is likely that an ordinance limiting their power will be recommended by the Council for passage. The legal speed rate of Chicago is so low that it seems that little signaling is really necessary. One of the members of our committee who drives an automobile daily stated the other day that his horn had been out of commission for several months and that in driving his car on an average of forty miles a day, he had really had no trouble in getting along without it.

"Much unnecessary noise is made by motorists allowing their engines to run while the car is standing in front of the door for varying periods of time. Especially is this disagreeable at night when adjacent residents or sick people are trying to obtain some needed rest. Now that the self-starter apparatus is in use there should not be much excuse for this evil.

"The motorcyclist is an individual against whom much complaint has been rightfully lodged. He has been accused of frequent open violation of the speed laws as well as of making too much noise. It is said that many of these ma-

chines in use in Chicago have absolutely no muffler at all. Better regulation of these motorists by ordinance seems to be indicated.

Boat Signals

"I have already alluded to the unnecessary loud whistling on the river. An ordinance providing that every boat be equipped with a second whistle of low power to be used for signaling purposes is at present before the Council committee for consideration. The committee is also considering the advisability of employing the telephone for bridge signals. The next meeting of the committee will be a conference with the city and government marine officials to consider the lessening of noises on the river and on the lake near shore.

Factory Whistles

"In this connection it may also be said that the blowing of factory whistles is considered an unnecessary nuisance by many citizens of Chicago. It certainly does not seem at all necessary that workmen should be called to work and dismissed several times a day by the blowing of whistles that can be heard for miles to the annoyance and discomfort of hundreds of sick and nervous people. Railroad corporations and large department stores employing thousands of persons do not find it necessary to employ such methods and it would seem that gongs connected by wires with the timekeeper's office might be used as effectively and without annoyance to anyone. The factory whistle is doubtless a relic of olden times when watches and clocks were expensive and uncommon. In Lowell, Mass., where 18,000 persons are employed in ten large corporations, no whistle is required to call or dismiss their employees. In Atlanta an ordinance prohibiting the blowing of locomotive whistles has been in effect since 1887.

Peddlers

"The crying of their wares and produce by hucksters and peddlers, although specifically prohibited by ordinance, has become an intolerable nuisance in certain parts of Chicago. Where there are many sick people and in sections of the city where many people who work nights are trying to obtain some sleep during the day, it seems to be

the worst. The anti-noise committee, at a meeting recently held, called upon Chief McWeeny to bring about a better enforcement of this ordinance. It was the opinion of this committee that the crying was an unnecessary adjunct to the peddling business and the better enforcement of the ordinance would redound to the comfort and peace of many suffering citizens.

Milkmen

"The visit of early morning milkmen is evidently a source of much annoyance and irritation to the average Chicagoan, judging from the large number of complaints that have been filed with the anti-noise committee. From observations and reports received, he seems to arrive about the same time all over town, anywhere from 3:30 to 6:30 o'clock. He announces his coming with a wagon whose wheels play in and out upon the axles to a distance wholly unnecessary for any good purpose whatever. His well and heavy shod horse seems to stamp his hoofs forcibly upon the hard pavement in order to call to the attention of the sleeper that his master is about to appear upon the scene. Then there is some jingling and jangling of bottles which rends the peace and tranquillity of the early morning air and then begins the noisome ascent of the one, two or three flights of stairs. One complainant declares that the milkmen who visit the apartment building in which he eats and *tries* to sleep do not walk up and down the stairs—they simply jump from one step to the other, both going and coming. The early visitor, when he reaches the door of his customer jingles and jangles the bottles again and then descends the stairs, perhaps a little more rapidly, but not much more quietly, than he came up, resumes his seat in the wagon, perhaps signals to his horse in a manner that can be heard the distance of half a block or so, and is on his way again down the street. A call of this kind might not be so bad if it occurred but once in a morning, but when one is so unfortunate as to live in a large apartment building in which the tenants receive their lacteal supply from so many as six or eight different milk companies with as many different delivery men making their morning rounds, he is apt to wonder if some scheme could not be devised by

which one delivery man could serve the entire building or neighborhood and necessitate but one call per morning.

"This annoyance was taken up in New York with the milk dealers with the result that some of the large companies equipped their wagons with rubber tires and even rubber shoes were placed on their horses. The plan proved a great commercial success, as practically everyone, the grade and quality of the product being equal, preferred to patronize those companies which would guarantee a practically noiseless delivery.

Domestic Animals

"The noise and annoyance incident to the keeping of domestic animals in a large city is a problem somewhat difficult of control. That the barking dog, the bellicose feline and the crowing rooster figure to quite an important extent in shattering the nerves and developing and encouraging profanity in Chicago, seems to be borne out by investigation and observation. There are many intelligent citizens who believe that a large city is no place for either dogs, cats or chickens, and yet the records of the city collector's office show the many thousands of dogs that are annually licensed in the city. Perhaps an ordinance forbidding the keeping of chickens within certain defined zone might be practical and might aid to some extent in the prevention of urban insomnia and neurasthenia.

"The noise problem in Chicago and in America is a big one. We of America and Chicago are naturally a noisy people. Many of us are still under the impression that noise and lots of it means progress and 'hustle' notwithstanding the real fact that most noises are superfluous and serve no useful end. In fact, tumult and disorder spell waste, and noise is often the latter or worse because it helps to make neurasthenics of many of us, helps indirectly to fill our insane asylums, shortens many lives and impairs our hearing. America is waking up to the importance of the situation and organizations for the suppression of unnecessary noises are doing effective work in several of our Eastern cities.

Public Education the Only Solution

"It is time for Chicago to take a serious interest in the problem. The passage and enforcement of anti-noise ordinances will not bring about a quiet Chicago. It will help some but what is needed more than anything is the creation of popular sentiment against the continuance of the noise nuisance and in favor of the enforcement of ordinances relating thereto. It means a campaign of education. When people learn that much of the noise made in Chicago is not absolutely necessary, but harmful to the health and comfort of the community, and much of it can be dispensed with without injury to legitimate commercial interests, the battle will be more than half won. The public must be taught that quiet surroundings as well as pure food, pure water and proper methods of sewage disposal are all hy-

gienic measures essential to health and comfort of all.

"The City Council committee will continue its investigations and hopes to formulate a report with recommendations which will assist in reducing the amount of unnecessary noises in Chicago. The creation of public sentiment through a campaign of education carried direct to the people as suggested is, however, the more important work. The City Club, through its anti-noise committee and large and representative membership, can assist materially in the propaganda. With the assistance and co-operation of this and other influential organizations, Chicago, by eliminating or reducing her unnecessary noises, will be made a more attractive, healthful and a more habitable community." (Applause.)

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The City Club Bulletin

Published by the CITY CLUB OF CHICAGO, 315 Plymouth Court

DWIGHT L. AKERS, Editor

VOLUME VI

MONDAY, SEPTEMBER 8, 1913

NUMBER 12

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THE ILLINOIS PUBLIC UTILITIES BILL

On June 20, 1913, the Illinois Senate passed a bill, already approved by the House, establishing a state public utilities commission with large powers of control over the public service corporations of the state. The bill, as originally drawn and as reported into the House by the Committee on Public Utilities, specifically reserved to the cities of the state—cities of less than 20,000 excepted—their powers of public utility regulation, but provided that such cities might by referendum surrender their powers over any or all public utilities to the state commission. Cities of less than 20,000 were made subject to the commission, but were authorized under the terms of the bill to assume by a referendum vote the large powers granted to other cities. In this way "home rule" on all public utility questions was preserved to all cities of the state—large and small.

The home rule features of this bill were struck out by the House before passage. They were restored by the Senate, but the House refused to concur in the Senate amendments and the

bill was therefore passed without the home rule article. The elimination of "home rule" was bitterly fought in the Legislature and the bill when passed at once met active opposition in Chicago and various other cities of the state whose powers of public utility regulation were thereby taken over by the state.

The Governor from many different sources was urged to veto the bill.

While the bill was pending before the Governor for his approval or veto, the City Club, to afford its members an opportunity of hearing arguments both for and against the bill, on June 25, 1913, held a noon-day meeting which was addressed by Senator John Dailey, of Peoria, chairman of the state public utilities investigating commission, which during the legislative session had reported in favor of a single state commission, and Prof. Edward W. Bemis, public utility expert of the city of Chicago. Senator Dailey spoke in favor of the bill as passed and Professor Bemis the floor by Senator Walter Clyde Jones and Mr. James G. Skinner, As-against it. There was discussion from

sistant Corporation Counsel of Chicago. George C. Sikes presided.

Senator Dailey was the first speaker. He said:

Hon. John Dailey

"I appreciate more than words can tell the very great courtesy the City Club of Chicago has conferred upon me in the invitation extended to me yesterday to join with others at this noon-day session to discuss the public utility bill just passed by the General Assembly of Illinois. At the same time I am conscious of the difficulties presented to me in discussing the question before a Chicago audience. I realize that the feature of this legislation in which you are most vitally concerned is the so-called doctrine of 'home rule,' (in my judgment more appropriately designated 'aldermanic rule'), for the City of Chicago.

Precedents for State Regulation

"Public utility laws are in existence in twenty-two states of the Union. Some features of local control of public utilities are reserved to the cities of Ohio by the constitution of that state very recently adopted. The California public utility law is very similar to the administration measure proposed in this state by Governor Dunne. The public utility laws of the remaining states are similar in principle to the measure just passed by the Illinois General Assembly.

"When the public utilities commission was created by the General Assembly of Illinois in June, 1911, the sentiment of the leaders of public thought in Illinois, as then expressed, was that state regulation of such utilities presented the very acme of progressive legislation. One of the leading exponents of the idea was Senator LaFollette, of Wisconsin. Governor Hughes, of New York, and President Wilson, then Governor of the state of New Jersey.

A Political Pledge

"In the recent state campaign the different political parties of Illinois were, by their platform declarations, committed to the principle of public utility regulation by the state. The platform

of the governor of this state was predicated upon this idea. It seems that in the present discussion of this question, Chicago in opposing the idea of state regulation is almost a notable exception.

"We all remember very clearly the speeches made in the last political campaign in this state by men of all political parties. Who, then, may I ask, went up and down the state speaking of 'home rule'? What newspapers then were advocating this idea? This term as applied to public utility regulation is a recent and post-election invention. It is a mere irrelevant, euphonious expression, which appeals to the unthinking and answers the purpose of the opportunist. We remember distinctly the campaign arguments made, that the municipalities of Illinois had shown their incompetency or unfitness to regulate these concerns, that their regulation by cities had become a scandal, that aldermen and mayors, in certain instances, insisted upon naming employes of utility companies as part of their political patronage, in short that these business enterprises were made the foot ball of politics by designing politicians, and that the only way the people of Illinois had to obtain relief from such conditions was to divorce completely the control of public utility companies from things political and from 'aldermanic rule.'

Public Utilities in Politics

"I wish to speak now of the underlying principles of this legislation, rather than enter into discussion of the abuses that rendered such legislation necessary. Mindful of the amenities of the occasion, I will not indulge in criticisms of your mayor or City Council, even if such criticism can justly be made. The city officials of Chicago are on record as favoring political control of utilities as opposed to non-political control. This involves the question as to whether the interests of the people of Chicago can be best subserved by making employes of public utility companies, political employes, or, for instance, by making 70 cent or 60 cent gas an issue for mayor and aldermen in their candidacies for office, or, in short, by projecting regulation of purely business matters, highly tech-

nical in their character, into the domain of politics. I will not enter into a discussion of the wisdom of your present control of the surface lines of Chicago. The future will determine this question. I understand they entered into contract with the city of Chicago about seven years ago, whereby a certain percentage of gross receipts of these lines is paid to the city, which revenue is to be used by the city in acquiring the ownership of these lines. During the same period the bonded indebtedness of these companies has more than quadrupled the fund thus accumulated, with absolutely no provision for the creating of a sinking fund for retiring this indebtedness at maturity. By this action the city will never be able to purchase the lines under the terms of the contract. In effect, by this contract, a perpetual franchise has been created, a condition, in my judgment, infinitely worse than could have ever been created by the infamous 'Allen law.'

"I am willing to concede that Chicago has dealt intelligently with some features of public utility regulation and in this respect has surpassed some of the larger cities of the country. I feel, however, that these matters have not been regulated as well as in the larger cities of the country, where the principle of state regulation prevails. I have no criticism of the mayor of Chicago or your city council, but I most respectfully insist that this council, changing constantly in its character, composed of men in all walks of life, cannot be compared in point of administrative ability with commissions having such men as Prof. Meyer of Wisconsin, Maltbie and Stevens of New York and Eshelman of California.

City Regulation Not Scientific

"A municipal commission for Peoria, Springfield or any other city of the state would be a commission merely in name. These cities would not be in a position financially to acquire the proper expert assistance and information necessary to deal with public utilities with any degree of efficiency. Cities frequently ignore the equities of the situation. This was apparent in the first Illinois city visited by our investigating commission. The

city of Cairo established a rate for water service. The chairman of the committee which determined the rate said the city had no expert information and arrived at its conclusion by taking the average rate for water charged in five metropolitan cities. When asked if he, as chairman of the committee, took into consideration the question of whether such a rate might drive the water company into bankruptcy, he said he didn't care. This is but one of the many examples found in Illinois cities, exhibiting not only unscientific methods of arriving at conclusions, but an utter and absolute disregard for the rights of property.

"Much discussion has been indulged in regarding interurban and intra-urban utilities. There is scarcely a utility company in Chicago which is strictly local. When the business of one of these companies extends beyond the city, it ceases to be a Chicago utility. The rights of people served by these utilities, whether they live in adjoining unorganized territory, in cities or in towns, are just as sacred as the rights of the citizens of Chicago. These rights are inherent and are not determined by numbers or municipal boundaries. The rights of the citizens of Evanston to ride on comfortable street cars for reasonable fares are just as great as the rights of citizens of Chicago and should not be made to determine upon arbitrary boundaries. The same applies not only to the rate charged, but to the character of service itself. Your companies supplying gas, electricity, telephone, telegraph and railroad service are in no sense local or Chicago utilities, even though the great preponderance of service is in Chicago.

Experience in Other States

"In the testimony taken by the Legislative Commission of which I was chairman, it was the uniform opinion of every member of the Wisconsin, New York and Massachusetts Commissions, who was heard upon this question, that state control, as opposed to municipal or aldermanic control of public utilities, was immeasurably superior. The experience of these commissions and the general approval of the laws under which they operate seem to justify the wisdom of enacting these laws to supplant the

archaic methods of aldermanic control.

"Mr. John H. Roemer, chairman of the Wisconsin Commission, in an address to the members of the Illinois Legislative Utilities Commission said:

Home rule doesn't mean anything when taken in connection with a public utility. It is a poorhouse for politicians in the community in which they live.

"Chairman Stevens of the commission for the second district of New York, said to the Illinois Legislative Utilities Commission:

I say that I am a believer in the principle of home rule, but at the same time I think the proposition of home rule should be confined to matters which are, in a broad sense, exclusively of home interest and concern. However, as to the problems that are presented in the large cities in the state, regarding the railroads and utility matters, I think they should not be settled by local commissions.

If they are settled in one place by a purely local commission. I do not see any valid reason why you should not settle all questions in every village, and city, by judgment and discretion of the local authorities. Now, any one can easily see what would come about in the way of results if all questions were left to the local authorities. * * * My observation has been that it is difficult to get a commission that will occupy an impartial attitude and will not be governed by local pressure. I think you will not be governed by right-minded men. They of necessity will be biased, and I think that you will find that it will be absolutely necessary to get an entirely independent commission which will work with indifference to local pressure which will be brought to bear upon it.

A state-wide commission will have less temptation to swerve from firm and impartial decision than would a local commission. The reasons for this are obvious and known to all.

"I know of no state which has adopted state regulation of public utilities which desires to return to the former method of municipal control. On the other hand, Mr. Eshelman, president of the California Commission, condemns municipal control as it exists in California. In a very admirable address, in which he discusses this matter at length he says:

If the inhabitants of a city were wholly devoid of selfishness and also omniscient, then those people who are so unfortunate as to live outside the boundaries of such city might have no fear that any act performed by the governmental authority of such city would be detrimental to the interest of any one. But I have a suspicion that the same selfishness which we find in the individual permeates aggregations of individuals, and that a city may sometimes do those things

within its boundaries which, although advantageous to its inhabitants, are detrimental to others. We have heard much in our history of taxation without representation. Regulation by a city which directly or indirectly serves to regulate the affairs of others without the city is, as to these others, regulation—which is a form of taxation—without representation. Therefore we must be very slow to make up our minds that a city should have the right to regulate the affairs of a utility operating within the city, but likewise serving its commodity to other sections, until it appears that the action of such city cannot work injustice to the other patrons of the utility to be regulated.

"May it not be possible, in view of the experiences of these states and of these authorities, that the press of Chicago and the City Council are wrong in their estimate of the law?

"What would it mean if the city of New York clamored for home rule and a local commission were appointed. It would mean a Tammany commission. It would put the foot of Tammany upon the necks of the people of the state of New York.

Chicago Utilities Down-State

"I want to call your attention to the fact that Chicago utilities are not Chicago utilities alone. The Insull properties in Chicago, for instance, are sending electric current down into the country to the communities near my home, and all over northern and central Illinois. Tell me that this utility is a Chicago utility that should be controlled by a commission appointed by the mayor and common council of the city of Chicago! Do you call that home rule? Suppose that the city of Chicago places great burdens upon this utility, imposes an occupation or franchise tax upon it. The fixed charges of the company are determined in Chicago. The moment that electric current leaves the city of Chicago it is loaded with an imposition upon the citizens of the state outside of Chicago which they must pay in the form of rates. We say to you that it is unjust and unfair for Chicago to put that burden upon the people of the state. To regulate the public utilities of the state by a local Chicago commission composed of men from all walks of life, such as you have in your common council, to determine in Chicago what I shall pay for service in Peoria county or Bureau

county or Marshall county, may be home rule for Chicago, but it is strictly the reverse for the rest of the state. The only way to secure regulation that will deal justly and equitably with Chicago and the rest of the state is to secure the appointment, through the governor of the state, of a commission removed from local political influence and composed of men of the highest character, probity and fitness.

"The Illinois bill under discussion was carefully drawn by Prof. John A. Fairlie, of the University of Illinois, assisted by Mr. James G. Skinner, assistant corporation counsel of Chicago, under the dictation of Governor Dunne. The bill, as passed by the General Assembly, with the exception of the so called 'home rule' article and some clerical changes, is in the exact form as it came from the hands of these gentlemen. I assume therefore, and you have a right to assume, that the public utility interests of the state have not dictated a word, a line, a sentence or a section of this bill.

Conflict of Authority Avoided

"That bill as it came from the hands of these men would have resulted, because of the inclusion of the 'home rule' article in a serious conflict of authority. It would have permitted a special city commission in Chicago and similar commissions in twenty cities of over twenty thousand in the state and in the smaller cities and villages which would exercise their right under the law to withdraw from the operation of the law whenever they saw fit, to regulate the utilities of the state, and in many instances innumerable municipalities could regulate the same utility.

"Under such a scheme of regulation, suppose that the city of Chicago through its commission, should order certain improvements to be made, say by a company furnishing electric energy. The utility company might say to the city: 'We cannot make these improvements without the issuance of two million dollars of bonds.' The bond issue under this law, as originally drawn, would have to be approved by the state commission. Suppose the state commission would not permit this money to be spent in the city of Chicago on the ground that it

would burden industry down state for improvements required by the city of Chicago. There would be a direct conflict of authority between the city and the state commission and the city of Chicago would suffer.

"Suppose on the other hand the state commission approved the bond issue. The investing public would say 'We are not going to pay 100 cents on the dollar for bonds of this character when the company is subjected to the control of fifteen or twenty different commissions in the state of Illinois.' The bonds, under the authority of the commission, could then be ordered sold for less than par—say at 90 cents. If they could not be sold for that sum they could be re-submitted at a less figure. If they were finally sold for 50 cents patrons of the utility would be compelled to stand the loss in increased rates or poorer service.

Fairness to Investors

"A law to be fair to the consumer must at the same time be fair to the investor. Subjecting investment to the control of conflicting regulating bodies, in the end, would prove disastrous alike to the consumer and the investor. It seems to me also that you ought to consider that the utility business is not a political business; that it should not be subjected to the spasmodic attacks of councilmen; that it should not be made the foot ball of politics; that it should not be considered the political asset of the mayor or a common council or anybody else. These businesses should be put absolutely upon the same plane as any other legitimate business in the state of Illinois. You will never get the best returns to the consumer until you divorce these utilities from the domain of politics, until the citizens of Chicago and other cities realize that a 70 cent gas league composed of a saloon keeper, a politician and a plumber, such as was the case in Chicago, for the purpose of raising a demagogic cry, is wrong.

"Such dealing with the public utilities of the state will forever be a menace, not only to the men who have invested capital, but to the consumer.

"It has been said the utility companies prefer state regulation. That is

no argument against it. If you were in that business you would object to having your property controlled by twenty different municipalities, possibly conflicting in their orders. You would prefer to have it conducted by a commission composed of high grade men, appointed by a governor of the character and integrity of Governor Dunne. I would take my chances for legitimate control of the utilities of Chicago with a commission thus appointed rather than with a commission appointed by the City Council of Chicago, drawn as it is from men in all walks of life. If the demand of the highway commissioners of Illinois for home rule had been heeded by the General Assembly of Illinois, we would not have passed the splendid Road Law demanded by your civic bodies in Chicago, a law which promises the speedy improvement of the highways of the state.

"Gentlemen of the City Club, I thank you for your attention and consideration. I feel that my position is correct. I believe, as firmly as I stand here, that the administration of this measure if it receives the sanction of the governor will confer greater benefit upon Chicago proportionately than any other part of the state, that you will emancipate from political servitude these industries of the state and subject them to the most rigid, exacting, just and intelligent regulation by the state, so that the rights of all may be conserved. While I appreciate your judgment is contrary to mine, the fact renders your courtesy to me all the greater and bespeaks your fairness in the consideration of all view points in matters pertaining to your municipality. I again thank you, and ask your indulgence for having exceeded the time so graciously accorded me." (Applause.)

Prof. Edward W. Bemis, public utility expert, employed by the city of Chicago in the readjustment of local gas and telephone rates spoke against the public utilities bill as passed and urged its veto. He said:

Edward W. Bemis

"Senator Dailey calls attention to the fact that of twenty-two state commissions regulating public utilities in this

country, twenty have adopted the policy of state control of all city utilities. He admitted, however, that California and, to some extent, Ohio, two of the largest and most recent states to undertake the regulation of public utilities, have adopted the principle of home rule for cities.

"Commission regulation by the states until within a very short time was confined almost entirely to railroads, express companies and a few other statewide utilities. The earlier commissions were railroad commissions. This was true in Illinois until this year when an attempt was made to add to the functions of our Railroad and Warehouse Commission the control of other utilities. All of the states started with railroad commissions. These commissions, however, were natural historical growths and their character was determined by the nature of the utilities over which they had jurisdiction. They are not important as precedents in favor of state regulation of all public utilities.

Precedents Not Conclusive

"Outside of Massachusetts, no state has yet had six years' history in dealing with municipal utilities. No other states save New York and Wisconsin have even three years' experience. Consequently, we need not feel that we are burdened with precedents.

"The demand is undoubtedly rising—and justly so—for public regulation of all natural monopolies. But there is also a growing sentiment in this country for home rule. These must be reconciled. It is entirely possible that an adjustment will be made along the lines laid down in the bill before its amendment.

"Reference has been made to the indorsement of the state commission idea by Senator LaFollette and President Wilson. I have reason to doubt today whether Senator LaFollette is as much opposed to home rule or as favorable to state commission regulation as may appear from his attitude when the Wisconsin commission was created. Wilson's indorsement of the New Jersey law with its denial of home rule might have been less pronounced had not the entire street railway and lighting business of the state been practically in the hands of

a single corporation and the telephones in another.

"Members of the Massachusetts and New York State Commissions have also been quoted here as favoring regulation. It is rather natural for these men to desire to claim success. I do not gather from personal conversation with them that they are so completely assured of their success as indicated. The president of the California Commission has also been cited in favor of state regulation, but one of his two colleagues on the commission is equally as decided to the contrary.

Seventy-Cent Gas Agitation

"Reference has been made in this discussion to 'seventy cent gas' as a political slogan in the mayoralty campaign some two and a half years ago. I do not altogether indorse the position that was taken at that time, but the 'seventy cent gas' doctrine was not arrived at so unscientifically as most of you perhaps believe. I have heard Mayor Harrison state that he had direct information from the city's expert that seventy cents was the rate which he expected to recommend and that it was on this account that the mayor was so confident of his position. I might say that the report which that expert made, if 'going value' be excluded from the appraisal, justified the entire 'seventy cent' agitation. The exclusion of going value is a matter upon which there is great room for discussion—the courts are not at all decided about it. There is a very strong sentiment against its inclusion all over the country—in the courts as well as elsewhere. The Massachusetts Gas and Electric Light Commission is absolutely opposed to it.

"It has been stated, as an example of Chicago's failure to regulate its utilities properly, that the street railroad regulation, which the city adopted in 1907, is worse than the Allen law. Now, I am not an advocate or defender of that street railway settlement; I thought then, and I think still, that it is open to many criticisms. But my friend, Mr. B. J. Arnold, who sits at my right and is in a position to know, dissents absolutely from the charge that the 1907 settlement was worse than the Allen law.

Expert Service for Cities

"It is declared that no Illinois city save Chicago is financially or otherwise able to deal with its municipal utilities. In most states having public utility commissions, expert services, both legal and technical, cannot be obtained for any city unless that city puts up the money. A city under the new Illinois law would be at the same expense in carrying its case to the commission as in carrying it to the courts. But the Illinois law in its original form provided that a city might borrow experts from the state. That, I think, met the financial difficulty that has been suggested. I do not, however, think that the entire expense for such experts should be borne by the state, although a considerable portion of it should be.

"The city of Cairo has been cited as an awful example of how the cities of this state fail to regulate. As I recall that case the city of Cairo passed an ordinance a number of years ago establishing a water rate equal to the average rate in certain other cities. I think the water company could have appealed to the courts and obtained redress. Put the shoe on the other foot. If the city of Chicago makes a losing contract, would you expect the contracting party to release the city from its obligation because the city is losing money? You can hardly expect that. Then why denounce Cairo for asking the water company to live up to its contract? Municipalities are usually more than just to their public utilities.

"It has been said that there could be no city commission even if we were to carry the idea of home rule to its logical conclusion because this would result in a subdivision of localities down to the most extreme local unit. You can carry any argument to an absurd conclusion. You can say, for instance, that state regulation is illogical because if all regulation were to be by the highest body concerned, a utility crossing a state line would necessarily be controlled by an interstate commission, and if, perchance, electricity were transmitted from the United States to Canada, as at Niagara Falls, an international commission would be necessary.

Courts Will Protect Against Ruinous Rates

"It is alleged that there is great danger that ruinous rates may be imposed on public utilities to fulfill political pledges. The utility companies would always have the protection of the courts against unjust measures of this sort. The same objection, however, might apply to the members of an expert commission as well as to the comparatively uninformed City Council. On the same principle arguments can be advanced in favor of restricting the suffrage to those who can pass a very high property test or those who have had a high school education. It would be easy to reach a conclusion that the best government would be that of the very few, but it does not work out that way. The very few are as likely to be prejudiced as the many. The best 'property' wards of the city do not usually send any better aldermen or representatives to our legislative bodies than the poorer wards.

"The Railroad and Warehouse Commission of Illinois is a state commission appointed by the governor, having in charge all of the railroads of the state, the interurban lines, express companies and sleeping car companies. I cannot say that it has been in politics, but I have not heard that it has been more successful than our cities in the regulation of utilities. We can criticize that state commission quite as justly as we can criticize Chicago.

"It has been argued that Governor Dunne can be trusted to appoint a good commission. I certainly believe that he can. I have great admiration and personal friendship for Governor Dunne, but he is not to be our governor for all time. Ex-Governor Hughes of New York ranked as high as any governor in this country and in his administration good appointments were made to the state commissions. But under Governor Dix and Governor Sulzer there has been a growing tendency for both state commissions to become footballs of politics, and the influence of the Tammany organization—an oft quoted reason for state regulation in New York—has been steadily in the ascendent. It is notorious that the recent appointees to the New York state commissions have been mem-

bers of Tammany, appointed for that very reason.

"To an extent, I like to have public utilities in politics, where they are subject to the common thought and discussion of the people at elections. It is an effective method of developing public interest in great issues and of stirring up the people to think upon our most vital questions of government.

One Commission Not Enough for Illinois

"It is my belief that one state commission cannot handle the combined business of the state of Illinois and the city of Chicago. The Wisconsin commission has supervision of utilities with less than half the combined revenues of the steam railroads of Illinois. All of the municipal utilities of Wisconsin, including Milwaukee, have less revenue than the People's Gas Company and the Chicago Telephone Company—and yet Mr. Erickson of the Wisconsin commission recently told me that that commission had considerable difficulty in keeping up with its business. I have been told by persons connected with the Massachusetts Gas and Electric Light Commission and the New York commission that the same is true of those bodies.

"We are proposing to load our Illinois commission with obligations greater than those assumed by any public utility commission in this country. In Illinois, the amount of electric light and power distributed is nine times that distributed over the whole state of Wisconsin. The amount of street railway and elevated railway fares collected is nine and a half times as great. The population of Illinois cities of over twenty thousand population, exclusive of Chicago, is 90 per cent greater in Illinois than in all of the cities of similar population in Wisconsin. A separate commission for Chicago alone would have as much to do as any public utility commission in this country. To place all the utilities of the state under a single commission would be, as I have said, to give that commission more business than it could handle, yet it is proposed to give it only fifty thousand dollars yearly in addition to the salaries of the commissioners. Such an appropriation will not begin to do the work.

Utilities Chiefly Municipal

"The fundamental reason for favoring home rule in this case is that the utilities dealt with are essentially municipal in character. Of course, they are not absolutely coterminous with municipal boundary lines. Many cities of this state have an outside water supply, sometimes from quite remote places, and yet no one dreams of taking control of the water supply away from the city. A metropolitan district larger than the city may be formed, as in Massachusetts, but there is small possibility of an attempt to put this important utility under control of a state commission. The jurisdiction of the Sanitary Canal, to cite another instance, extends far beyond the city limits, but no one dreams of placing control of Chicago's drainage system in the hands of a state commission.

"If we can be trusted to deal with our problem of drainage, why cannot we be trusted to deal with other public utility questions so vital to our welfare. It seems to me that the only demand for the legislation which we are discussing comes from outside of the cities themselves—either from the country districts or from interested parties. There are a few persons, I will admit—and in this class I include Senator Dailey—who, looking at the matter from the standpoint of precedents, think that regulation by state commission is the natural thing, but as I have already said those precedents are to me of very little importance. The precedent of home rule is quite as big.

An Incentive to Public Service

"Do you believe you would get men of the caliber of Professor Merriam to go into the City Council if they did not have the power to deal with these great public utility questions? Questions of this sort are an incentive to ambitious men to go into our municipal bodies. The success Chicago has had in protecting its rights in public utility matters could not, I think, have been accomplished by a commission. I have heard Professor Merriam say that in all of his studies of commission regulation he has not found any instance of success equal to that of the City Council in dealing with the telephone question. In view of

all of that, it seems to me exceedingly unfortunate that we should turn the clock back and hand our powers over to a commission sitting in a distant city, a commission likely to be controlled in a few years by a governor less public spirited than Governor Dunne, a commission subject in much less degree than the City Council of Chicago to public opinion.

"I feel the argument is strong in favor of a veto of this bill. Even with the 'home rule' clause restored, it is not just what we want. We should then make a further study of the question and before the next special or general session of the Legislature determine how the bill may be made one which we can all indorse." (Applause.)

Following the address by Professor Bemis, the meeting was thrown open for discussion from the floor.

Hon. Walter Clyde Jones, State Senator from the 5th district, Chicago, who in the legislature actively opposed the elimination of the home rule features of the bill, spoke from the floor as follows:

Hon. Walter Clyde Jones

"Throughout the entire recent session of the Illinois Legislature, that body had before it the subject of public utilities. Various bills were considered and finally a bill was drafted, which, in its original form—based upon the principle that certain utilities are state wide and others are distinctly local—was, I think, one of the most enlightened productions upon the subject of public utilities that has come before any legislative body. It provided for a state commission which should have control of the state-wide utilities—such, for instance as the inter-urban and steam railroads, the telegraph and the long distance telephone—but it also provided for home rule for cities.

"It provided, to be more specific, that all cities of over twenty thousand should be left outside the law and empowered their city councils to regulate their local utilities. By referendum, however, any such city, if it so desired, could vote itself under the state commission. Cities under twenty thousand were to be placed under the law from the moment it should go into effect but a majority of the voters of any such city were to have

the power by referendum to vote that city out from under the law. The bill thus provided absolute home rule for every city and village in the state regardless of its size.

"Under the terms of the original bill Chicago would be permitted to regulate its public utilities either through the City Council or through a separate commission appointed by the City Council. I understand that steps have already been taken by the City Council to provide a utility commission for this city whether this law becomes effective or not.

"When the bill came up in the House, it was amended by striking out Article VI referring to home rule in cities, thus leaving all the utilities of the state under control of the single state commission. The point was made in the Senate, when we were fighting to reinsert the home rule clause, that a state commission could not possibly perform all of the services which would be required of it, if it undertook to handle both state and urban utilities. We called attention to the fact that in Wisconsin and some other states having public utility commissions there are no large metropolitan cities like Chicago with great aggregations of public utilities, and that while it might be feasible in such states for one commission to handle all utilities such control would not necessarily be feasible for Illinois. In the state of New York a separate commission is provided for New York city.

Was It a Trade?

"The Senate by an overwhelming vote put the 'home rule' article back in the bill and passed it in that form, but the House refused to concur. When the bill came back to the Senate there were complications in the political situation, which to my mind led to the defeat of the home rule provision. The Senate had passed a park consolidation bill which came back to the Senate with amendments by the House. There was discord between the two houses on the subject of this bill and at the very time when we were trying to get concurrence between the two houses with respect to it, this public utility measure came up.

"It is my opinion that Governor

Dunne personally was not a party to any agreement in reference to this matter, but certain of his friends were apparently influenced by the suggestion that if the parks were to be consolidated and all the park patronage were to be taken from the governor, it would be only proper that the public utilities should be placed in the governor's hands. Thinking, I believe, that they would curry favor with the governor, they made a determined fight to get the home rule clause stricken out. When the roll was called, certain senators of Chicago and the country districts, who rank as close administration men, changed their votes and enough changes were made so that the home rule article was stricken out of the bill. I hope Governor Dunne was not a party to that action. In the hearings in the Senate, to my mind at any rate, he indicated that he believed in home rule for the city of Chicago. I trust that when the issues are fully presented to him he will realize that it is his duty as a citizen of Illinois and the governor of the state to refuse to permit this crime to be perpetrated upon the people of Chicago.

Worse Than Allen Law

"I believe that this is the most dangerous piece of legislation from the standpoint of the citizens of Chicago that has ever come out of your Legislature. The Allen bill some years ago that proposed to take away from Chicago the control of her street railroads was but a pigmy compared with this.

"If this bill is signed and becomes a law, your City Council might as well adjourn *sine die* and go out of business, for it would have little to do except to look after the streets and alleys and the municipal water works. All of those great measures which concern so vitally the people of Chicago will be dealt with in Springfield and the people of Chicago will have nothing whatever to say about them.

"The men down the state do not understand the theories and the principles for which the people of this city have been working. I misjudge the people of Chicago if they will permit this kind of a bill to be foisted upon them by the Legislature of this state. I trust that

the governor will awaken in time to relieve the dangerous situation, for I consider that the dangers are imminent and great.

"You will find that the great public utility corporations of the state are for the bill in its present form. When all of the great public utility enterprises are for an issue of this kind, it is time that the danger signals were sounded and the people of the city of Chicago were looking into the matter to determine whether or not their interests are protected.

"It is my view as a legislator of this state for eight years, that the city of Chicago is now facing a most dangerous situation in its civic life. Unless you can start bonfires of public opinion which will sweep away this action of your Legislature, I tell you you will blush in years to come because you did not rise to the emergency and prevent the destruction of the self-governing power of your municipality. I believe that the test of the endurance of our Republican institutions is involved in our municipal governments, and if you take away from your great municipalities these responsibilities you are simply destroying the opportunity of the people to control their own government, and, as I believe, are laying the foundation for the disintegration of self-government in the United States." (Applause.)

Mr. James G. Skinner, assistant corporation counsel, also speaking from the floor against the bill as passed, said:

James G. Skinner

"In regard to what has been said about the political domination of public utilities by cities, I want to call your attention to the fact that state commissions are notoriously known as being controlled by political influences. It is whispered every now and then that the Railroad and Warehouse Commission of this state is controlled by the railroads and particularly by a single railroad which is very much wrapped up in the development of the state of Illinois. State commissions are always pets of the public utility corporations. The corporations of the state of Wisconsin are very much in love with the Wisconsin commission. I have it from men in that state that the Wisconsin commission is

more favorable to the corporations than to the people.

"As to the question of politics. The Illinois bill as originally drafted did not provide that not more than three of the five members of the commission should belong to any one political party, but the gentlemen at Springfield interested in the politics of the situation saw to it that there was a little amendment of this sort inserted. I would like to ask those who are students of this question whether the laws of other states including those of New York, Maryland, California and even Wisconsin and Ohio make such a provision. So far as I know, the only one state in the Union, except Illinois, which has a law of this sort is Indiana, and the Indiana law was passed only a few weeks ago, and, I believe, has not yet gone into operation.

Conflict of Authority Easily Avoided

"Question has been raised here as to the possibility of a conflict of authority if home rule is allowed to cities. Senator Dailey, who is a student of these questions, must know the rule governing the commissions of the state of New York, and I will refer him to Section 49, subdivision 5, of the New York law, which provides that:

"Whenever the case shall relate to a joint rate, fare or charge, or a through route composed of a street railroad wholly in the second district and a street railroad wholly in the first district, or partly in the first and partly in the second district, the proceedings shall be deemed pending before both commissions."

"That is just such a provision as was worked out in the original draft of the Illinois bill to settle the question of double jurisdiction between the city and the state commission. The New York law further provides:

"In such case and in every other case arising under this chapter wherein it appears to both commissions that separate jurisdiction has not been conferred, a joint hearing shall be fixed and had by members of both commissions, and the determination shall be by joint order, which shall be effective when concurred in by not less than three members of each commission, anything in this

chapter to the contrary notwithstanding. In any such case the proceeding may be instituted by or before either commission and the entry and service of preliminary orders may be done by such commission.'

"The question has been raised that if the original home rule provision of the Illinois bill were in effect fifteen or twenty different municipalities would be gin simultaneously to figure out rates governing the public utilities of the state. The speaker who called that to your attention overlooked all of the saving features of this act. It is expressly provided that all rates shall be just and reasonable, that all unjust and unreasonable rates are unlawful and shall be prohibited and that all rates shall be nondiscriminatory and nonpreferential. Thus the law protects just such a situation as this. No community or municipality by virtue of this law with the home rule article in it, could have enforced an unjust or unreasonable regulation upon any public utility corporation.

Absolute Home Rule Provided in First Draft of Bill

"It has also been pointed out that no other city in Illinois outside of the city of Chicago would be able to deal with these questions. That was answered, I think, by Senator Jones, when he pointed out that the smaller city could come in

under the state commission if it wished to or could stay out if it wished to. Not only that, but if the city of Peoria, for instance, found that it could handle the situation with reference to telephone and gas but felt that it could not deal adequately with the question of electric light and power, it might retain its control of the two former and rely upon the state commission to deal with the latter.

"It was claimed at Springfield that if home rule were given to all of the cities that the state commission would have jurisdiction over nothing but a few wires and poles out through the country. The state commission would have complete jurisdiction over the steam railroads, the telegraph, the express companies, the interurban lines, and so on.

"It has been charged that the cities all over the state have made a miserable botch of their attempts to regulate public utilities. The cities of the state of Illinois have absolutely no power to control them at the present time except where a public utility comes to the city for a franchise. Then the city can do something by contract. They have no affirmative power and that is the reason they have failed. Article VI of the original bill provided such an affirmative grant of power, and that article, was, by reason of the influence of the corporations at Springfield, stricken out." (Applause.)

MODERN IMPROVEMENTS IN STREET LIGHTING

Improvements in street lighting were the subject of two noon-day discussions at the City Club, July 10 and July 11, 1913. At the first of these, July 10, Mr. Walter C. Allen, electrical engineer of the District of Columbia, spoke on "The Lighting of the National Capital" and at the second, July 11, Mr. Ray Palmer, City Electrician of Chicago, and Mr. A. B. Gates, testing engineer of the Sanitary District of Chicago, spoke on "Street Lighting in Chicago—Accomplishments and Proposals" and Mr. F. V. Westermaier on "Gas Street Lighting in Modern Cities." Professor Harry McCormack, chairman of the City Club

Committee on Lighting and Telephone Service, presided at both meetings.

Mr. Allen's address on "The Lighting of the National Capital" was extensively illustrated. He spoke as follows:

THE LIGHTING OF THE NATIONAL CAPITAL

Mr. Walter C. Allen

"Street lighting in the District of Columbia has undergone marked changes in the past few years. Previous to 1910, four systems of lighting were employed:

"1. Mantle gas lamps were used in the principal residence sections of the

city. About one-half the total number of lamps were of this type.

"2. Enclosed arcs, both series and multiple, were used in the business section of the city and on the principal thoroughfares.

"3. Incandescent lamps, with overhead wires, were maintained in the suburbs and on country roads. Underground wires for these lamps have been installed in some of the more recently developed suburbs.

"4. Mantle naphtha lamps were placed in the alleys and outlying sections of the city not reached by the gas or electric systems.

"Only three companies which are in a position to furnish municipal lighting are authorized by act of Congress to operate in the District—two gas companies and one electric lighting company. All the municipal lighting is supplied by these three companies. They make the installations, furnish the electric current or the gas, light and extinguish the lamps, and, until recently, furnished the posts.

"In order to formulate a definite plan for lighting improvement, experimental installations were made in 1910 on two very wide thoroughfares. Temporary wooden posts were erected, so designed that the lamps could be raised or lowered at will. Glass globes of various sizes and kinds and lamps of varying candlepower were tried out. It was found that 100-candlepower tungsten lamps in opalescent globes on posts arranged on the 'staggered' plan, about sixty feet apart, gave the most satisfactory results. By the 'staggered' plan, I mean that the lamps were alternated on the two sides of the street, the space between posts, measured along the axis of the street, being sixty feet, or, measured along each curb, 120 feet. This method produces a very uniform illumination, but of low intensity. Where a higher intensity is desired, the 'parallel' arrangement is used; that is, the posts on the two sides of the street are placed opposite each other, with a spacing of about seventy-five feet between posts.

Tree-Lined Streets a Washington Problem

"These lamps which I have just described are considered the most satisfactory for the conditions in Washington,

which, however, differ considerably from those to be met in other large cities. One of the principal factors which determined the choice of this low-intensity system for Washington is the park-like character of the streets, lined, as they are, with trees averaging twenty to thirty feet apart. Two important business streets, each about 3,000 feet long, have no trees, and a few others have none for several blocks. Excepting such isolated cases, however, every street is tree-lined. The report of the Superintendent of Trees and Parkings shows that on July 1, 1912, there were, within the built-up residence section of the city, 283 miles of street with trees, and twice that mileage of trees. The superintendent figures that there are 352 trees to the mile, the average spacing being thirty feet. Under such conditions, close spacing of posts and units of low initial candlepower are required for effective lighting.

"Something more than a year ago, the merchants along a portion of Seventh street contributed one-third of the cost of an improved lighting system on that street, the municipality paying the remaining two-thirds, an amount equal to the cost of the former arc lighting. This is the only street in the city of more than 3,000 feet—about eight city blocks in length—without trees. Tungsten lamps of 100-candlepower were placed on the street on the 'parallel' arrangement, about 75 feet apart. On July 1, 1913, the municipality assumed the entire cost of maintaining this lighting. This is the only instance where the city revenues have not been used to pay for the entire lighting of a street.

First Installation of Improved Lighting

"The first installation of the low-candlepower system of lighting made necessary by our tree-lined streets was made in 1910 on Sixteenth street, now, by act of Congress, called The Avenue of the Presidents—a broad thoroughfare leading directly north from the White House about two and one-half miles. On each side of this street are two rows of trees, one at the curb and one at the parking. The foliage is so thick and hangs so low that at night, when standing in the center of the street, only a few of the nearest lamps can be seen.

The effect is that of concealed or cove lighting, as we call it in interior work. Eighty-candlepower lamps in opalescent globes, about sixty feet apart—'staggered'—are used. At street intersections, where there are circular parks, the lamps on the circle are set in line with those on the curb, so that the effect is one of an unbroken straight line of posts.

"The post for the installation on the Avenue of the Presidents was specially designed. At street corners, the shaft used is shorter than those placed between the intersecting streets, with an extension at the top for carrying the street signs. This extension makes the corner



Typical Street Lamp for Tungsten Lighting, Washington, D. C.—Cast-Iron Street Sign.

posts the same height as those which do not carry street signs. The signs are of red glass with white letters. The diffusion from the opalescent globes is sufficient to light the backs of these signs, and the letters stand out at night as if they actually had a lamp behind them. Some of the intersecting streets form other than right angles, and in such places, particularly at angles of 160 degrees, we have used cast-iron signs with raised letters outlined in gold leaf, and with the arrows which support the signs pointing down the street.

"In 1911, this method of improved lighting was extended over eight miles of streets, and in 1912 was further extended so that it now covers 18 miles. A new design of post, simpler and more dignified in its outline, was adopted, and this



Typical Street Lamp for Tungsten Lighting, Washington, D. C.—Street Signs of Red Glass.

has become the standard for the District of Columbia. The posts are of two heights, one twelve feet, and the other ten feet three inches from the base to the center of the globe.

"The system of lighting which I have described now extends around the Capitol group of buildings and into the Capitol grounds. For one square it has been carried through the open place in front of the Capitol. We hope to extend it farther into the Capitol grounds, which are now lighted by arc lamps. The same lighting has been installed in front of the new Senate office building."

Mr. Allen showed a view of Pennsylvania avenue in front of the White House as it appears with the new tungsten lights. The roadway on this street, as Mr. Allen pointed out, is very wide—eighty-five feet between curbs—and a special adaptation of the lighting system is therefore required. The lamps are of

100-candlepower, and the spacing is about sixty-five feet. The lighting effect is very soft and subdued. He also showed views of similar installations in front of the Carnegie Public Library and the United States Treasury. Another slide showed a short section of business street without trees and lined on one side with government buildings. The lights on this street were placed 'parallel'

fusion of light from the lamps in the two positions, and it was found that there was practically no difference.

"The cables connecting the lamps are placed immediately back of the curb line about eight inches below the surface of the sidewalk. In the first installation, multiple cables with steel armor were used, but difficulties were encountered in making connections at the bases of the



Typical Installation of Tungsten Lighting, Washington, D. C.
Pennsylvania Avenue—In Front of White House.

to secure a more formal and dignified arrangement of the posts in front of the government buildings.

Ornamental Posts

"In the first installations of the improved lighting system," continued Mr. Allen, "the lamps were placed within the globes in a pendent position. This necessitated an opening in the top of the globe through which the support for the lamp could protrude. It was necessary, of course, to cover that opening with an ornamental top. On the Avenue of the Presidents, a bronze eagle was used for this purpose, but as it was rather heavy and difficult to keep in place, it has been removed and an acorn ornament substituted.

"In the more recent installations, the lamps have been placed in the upright position, and the necessity for an ornamental dome has been thus avoided. Tests were made by the Bureau of Standards to determine the relative dif-

posts, and so in subsequent installations we have used a single-conductor cable with varnished cambric insulation and a one-eighth inch lead sheath. The only protection over the cables in the later installations is a thin strip of wood which the lighting company thinks advisable as an additional mechanical protection against blows from digging instruments. Where circuits cross intersecting streets or alley entrances, an ordinary tile duct is laid, through which the cables are drawn.

Separate Circuits Established

"To insure continuity of service, the lights on one side of the street are placed on a separate circuit from those on the other side.

"It appears from figures furnished by the lighting company that the installation cost per lamp is approximately \$45.00, including the cable, fittings and accessories, erection of the lamps, and the laying of the cable, but excluding the

cost of the globe and the post, which are furnished by the municipality.

"At the established rates for street lighting in the District of Columbia, the yearly maintenance cost per foot of street for 100-candlepower lamps 'staggered' sixty feet apart, is 50 cents. For similar lamps arranged 'parallel,' 75 feet apart, the cost is 80 cents per foot. On the front-foot basis, the cost would be one-half these amounts, or 25 cents and 40 cents respectively.

"After extended experiments with both arc and incandescent electric lamps, the former have been chosen for the improved lighting of Pennsylvania avenue, the principal thoroughfare of the city. This avenue, from the Capitol to the Treasury building, a distance of more than 6,000 feet, has a roadway width of 110 feet between curbs, with numerous open places and triangular parks and with large sycamore trees on both curbs, combining to make necessary a special type of lighting. A 6.6-ampere luminous arc lamp has been selected for this installation. It is to be placed on top of a post, however, instead of being hung pendent in the usual manner. Instead of using the peculiarly shaped glass globes, provided by the makers of this lamp, a spherical ribbed metal frame to hold segments of opalescent glass has been designed and the lamps will be placed in these. By using a glass of sufficient density to conceal the light source, the appearance of this ribbed globe at night will be made very pleasing. Should the operation of lamps in these globes prove as satisfactory as we anticipate, it is expected that the same form of lighting will be installed in the business section of the city, using, however, a 4-ampere instead of a 6.6-ampere lamp. The lamps on Pennsylvania avenue are to be 'staggered,' 100 feet apart on each curb. This will provide a lamp at each corner of a parallelogram of approximately 100 feet on a side. The cost of each complete lamp, including the iron shaft, the ribbed globe and the glassware, will be about \$70.00. The maintenance cost per lamp will be \$92.10 per year, or \$1.98 per linear foot of street.

"One large open place in the city which requires special treatment with high-candlepower units is the Plaza in front

of Union Station, the gateway to the city. This plaza is about 500 by 800 feet. To light the outer roadway of the plaza, the standard magnetite or luminous arc lamp is used, suspended from posts twenty-two feet from the pavement, and here and there are islands with posts on them carrying 6.6-ampere magnetite arc lamps. The arc lamps are to be placed in 24-inch ribbed frames with opalescent glass (if we can get it) colored to give the yellow tint characteristic of the incandescent lamp rather than the white tint of the luminous arc lamp.

"The lamps we have installed stand 100 feet from the front of the station, and at night they light it up beautifully. The architects desired that the building should stand out at night, and for that reason a form of lamp was adopted which would throw the light to the highest part of the building.

Bridge Lighting

"The numerous bridges throughout the District have received special attention in our plans for improved lighting. In nearly every instance, the bridges are provided with special posts of artistic design arranged for incandescent lamps."

Mr. Allen showed illustrations of various types of bridge lighting in the District of Columbia, and described particularly the large concrete structure spanning the valley of Rock Creek, on Connecticut avenue. Referring to this bridge, he said:

"After numerous experiments, Nernst lamps were adopted for this installation, with posts of very beautiful design, executed in cast-iron at a cost of about \$500 each, with globes of a special size—10 inches in diameter—to harmonize with the design. The lamps are not of the highest light efficiency, but efficiency was not considered of prime importance in this installation. The lighting is, however, highly effective, and of a highly artistic character.

"The numerous parks within the city limits and the grounds around the public buildings are lighted by the several government departments having jurisdiction over them. Mantle gas lamps and arc lamps are variously used. There is one large area, however, bordered by the Potomac River, which has recently been

provided with our new form of incandescent lighting. The lamps are only 60-candlepower, and are spaced 150 feet apart. This park is an open level area of reclaimed land, close to the river, near the heart of the city, and is much frequented at night.

"The largest park of all, a wooded tract of over 1,600 acres, about five miles long and less than a mile in width, is not lighted, and unless the policy of the controlling board is changed, it will so remain. This park is traversed by a beautiful winding stream provided with fords, and there are beautiful bridges, fine roads, shady walks and bridle paths. It is preserved in all its natural scenic beauty, and will be kept in that condition for daylight recreation and pleasure." (Applause.)

STREET LIGHTING IN CHICAGO—ACCOMPLISHMENTS AND PROPOSALS

At the second of the two meetings devoted to street lighting two subjects were discussed, "Street Lighting in Chicago—Accomplishments and Proposals" and "Gas Street Lighting in Modern Cities."

"Street Lighting in Chicago" was discussed by Ray Palmer, City Electrician of Chicago and A. B. Gates, Testing Engineer, Sanitary District of Chicago.

Mr. Ray Palmer

"During the year 1887 the first municipal electric light plant for lighting Chicago's streets was established in the basement of a fire engine house, located at Clinton and Washington streets, and 105 open arc lamps were placed in service on the river front and downtown streets. Each following year additions were made both in lamps and equipment, until in 1897 a total of 1,440 lamps which operated from three stations constituted the municipal lighting system. This plant was operated as a bureau of the Fire Department.

"On January 24, 1898, the City Council created, by an ordinance, the Department of Electricity. The report of the City Electrician for that year shows that a total of 1,710 lamps were maintained at a cash cost of \$68.52 each, for

the year. Cash cost means all costs except the fixed charges, that is to say, except interest on the investment and depreciation of equipment.

"From this time on, progress was made both as regards extensions to the system and decreased cost of maintenance. The annual report for the department for the year 1908 shows a total of 8,602 lamps maintained at a cash cost of \$45.86 per lamp. During this year—1908—the power generated by the Sanitary District at Lockport was made use of to displace the steam equipment as a source of power for street lighting. Extensive alterations were made necessary by this change and the way was opened for increased extensions which were hardly thought possible before this time.

Sanitary District Contract

"In October, 1910, a contract was negotiated with the Sanitary District whereby they should furnish and install on the streets of the city, 10,000 modern arc lamps, or the equivalent in other type of lights, in addition to those in service at that time—approximately 12,200. They were also to build the necessary sub-stations, conduits and pole lines and supply the energy to operate the total number of lamps—approximately 22,200. The energy was to be furnished on the basis of \$15.00 per horse power year of 4,000 lamp hours, or approximately $\frac{1}{2}$ cent per kilowatt hour.

"In addition to this the Sanitary District undertook to operate the sub-stations, and plants at a cost to the city of one dollar per arc lamp per year. The reason for this last undertaking on their part was that they desired the use of the station buildings and the transmission lines to furnish electrical power and light to private consumers during the time such buildings and lines were not required for city lighting purposes, and also to control all the power operating conditions. Mr. E. B. Ellicott, electrical engineer of the Sanitary District, has been instrumental in carrying on the construction work for the District in an efficient and economical manner.

"The construction contract was mutually advantageous, in that the city came into possession of an electric street lighting system which should eventually

be second to none in the world, at a cost per lamp as low as any contracting firm could make, and the payments were so arranged that they spread over a period of seven years, which should enable the city to take care of the payments without feeling the burden. The Sanitary District developed a load for the water power and equipment then installed and were enabled to build up their organization for operation so that their overhead costs would be relatively low.

"This contract has been in force about two years and a total of 16,200 arc lights, or their equivalent in tungsten lamps, are in service on the streets of the city. The remaining 6,000 lamps will be placed in service by this time next year, and the old direct current arc lamps, 2,500 in number, will be displaced by the new flaming type lamp. To make the change economically and efficiently, so as to place a light at each alley and street intersection, will require the placing in service of a large number of new lamps in these old direct current arc lighted districts. As a result of my report of March 24th to Mayor Harrison and the City Council for additional lighting, the Chairman of the Finance Committee, Corporation Counsel and the City Electrician were empowered to negotiate a contract with the Sanitary District, similar to the present one, whereby 15,000 arc lamps could be added to those now under contract, and the rapidly becoming obsolete 7-ampere, alternating current arc lamps, and their operating equipment, could be replaced by the new flame lamp or the underground tungsten system.

"If the necessary water power can be obtained and this work installed in four or five years, there will be in service on the city's streets 38,000 flaming arc lamps—the most efficient sources of artificial illumination known at the present time—or their equivalent in underground tungsten lights.

Proposed Extension of Sanitary District Lighting

"This proposed extension would cost from three to four million dollars. The Sanitary District Trustees reported yesterday—July 10th—that they are unable to accept this new contract until the U. S. Government grants an increased flow

of water to them. At the present time they are allowed a flow of 4,167 cubic feet per second.

"As is noted, this improvement would involve a large expenditure of money, as well as careful engineering attention, but the benefit gained, including the protection to our citizens, certainly warrants the expenditure. To handle the contract obligations satisfactorily, the Department of Electricity has had to perfect an engineering organization. This force of men surveys the city streets and definitely locates the position of each arc lamp, estimates and make specifications for the various materials used, both in underground and aerial construction, and compiles accurate maps and plans which direct the Sanitary District in carrying on their work. While the work progresses inspectors closely follow its details and report daily in writing to the chief of the bureau on the work. Monthly statements covering reports of material used and men employed are received by the city from the Sanitary District, and these reports after being compared and checked with the inspector's reports are approved and form the basis on which payments are allowed.

"To light one mile of street using twenty-three flame lamps and placing all wires underground costs approximately \$9,000, while if the wires were placed above ground on steel poles the cost would only amount to about \$4,000. These costs include the substation and feeder distribution costs.

New Tungsten Lighting

"On some of the older residence streets where the trees are well grown and act as an obstruction to the light from arc lamps, a system of underground cables with tungsten lamps mounted in opalescent globes on the old gas posts, has been installed. This type of construction costs about \$8,000 per mile of street lighted, using 75 of the tungsten lamps, spaced staggered and about 150 feet apart on each side of the street.

"A few figures on the annual cost of maintaining these various type of construction lamps may prove of interest. Flame arc lamps on underground circuits in 1912 cost \$39.91 a year to main-

tain. Add to this an interest charge on the investment of \$19.16 and a depreciation charge of \$13.67 and the total yearly cost is \$72.74 per lamp. While the lamp on aerial circuits costs as much to main-



Typical Tungsten Lamp and Post, Chicago, Ill.
Old Gas Light Standards Used.

tain, the interest and depreciation are lower and the total yearly cost is only \$54.57.

"The underground tungsten lighting is the most expensive form of street lighting we have, except gasoline lighting, which is \$31.25 per year. The cost per unit is only \$13.36 for cash maintenance of the underground tungsten lamp but the interest and depreciation costs brings this amount to a total of \$24.27 per lamp yearly. As there are 75 lamps to the mile of street this means \$1,820 a year to light one mile of street with tungsten lamps as against \$1,673 for flame arc lamps on underground circuits, \$1,255 for flame arc lamps on aerial circuits, and \$2,343.75 for gasoline lights.

"It is interesting to compare a city like Philadelphia with Chicago, in respect to the total amount expended per year for lighting the two cities. Philadelphia has a population of 1,549,000, as of the census of 1910, as compared to Chicago's population of 2,185,000. At the present time Chicago has an area of 194.45 square miles with 4,400 miles of streets and alleys, which are to be lighted

this year at a cost of \$1,038,700, or \$234 per mile. Philadelphia has an area of 129 square miles, with 1,752 miles of streets and alleys, which will be lighted at an expenditure for this year of \$2,472,000, or \$1,412 per mile. This shows that Chicago spends less than 20 per cent per year per mile of street and alleys, of what Philadelphia spends for public lighting purposes. I am in hopes that in the next few years the council of the city of Chicago will recognize the need of additional expenditures in order to obtain the lighting which the city should have for the protection of its citizens, as well as the beautifying of its streets.



Typical Flame Arc Lamp and Post for Street Lighting, Chicago, Ill.

Electrolysis

"On July 15th of last year an ordinance was passed by the City Council to protect the underground cables and other metallic structures from electrolysis, and on January 27th of this year another ordinance was passed standardizing all arc lighting and commercial lighting poles within the city. A policy has been established in the department of electricity to progress along lines which will be beneficial to the city as a whole first by standardizing the work and after installation by keeping the annual maintenance cost low through economies of operation including the protection to the lines.

"The question of properly illuminating those portions of the streets passing under the elevated steam railways,

ters of the canal are discharged into the Desplaines river.

"A comparison of the connected load



Typical Installation of Flame Arc Lamps, Chicago, Ill.

has been before the city departments for some time and it is only recently that a line of procedure has been completed whereby the various railway companies will be forced to install and maintain lights in 275 of the city subways, where such action is required under the track elevation ordinances. The city will install and maintain lights in all other subways—about 350 of them.

"After extensive engineering investigation, a standard of one 16 candle power lamp for each 400 square feet of enclosed subway area, was decided upon as giving sufficient light for these places. The various railway companies have been trying to get this reduced to one 16 candle power lamp for each 800 square feet, but the department has insisted upon the necessity and fitness of the lighting selected, has wired several subways according to these specifications and expects to complete the subway work before the end of the year." (Applause.)

Mr. Gates, discussing municipal lighting by the Sanitary District, said:

Mr. A. B. Gates

"The hydro-electrical development of the Sanitary District was made possible by extending the main channel of the drainage canal below Lockport and utilizing the resultant head, before the wa-

ter from year to year will show how phenomenal was this development, even though most of it took place under adverse conditions. The plant was put in service December 28, 1907, with a connected load of 165 horse-power in the Town of Cicero. At a corresponding date in the following years, the connected loads in horsepower were:

	Horse-power	Increase for the year
1906	15,278...	825 per cent
1909	27,872...	83 per cent
1910	35,474...	27 per cent
1911	48,098...	35 per cent
1912	51,846...	8 per cent

"On November 1, 1912, the following parks, municipalities, etc., were furnished power by the Sanitary District: Garfield, Humboldt, Douglas and Holstein Parks, Small Park No. 3, South Parks, Special Park Commission, Lincoln Park, Hamlin Park, Seward Park, Stanton Park, Cook County, City of Chicago, Blue Island, Morgan Park, Cicero, Lockport, Berwyr, North Berwyn and Lyons.

"The arc lighting load is supplied at \$1.25 per horse-power per year, on a lighting schedule varying from eight to fourteen hours per night. This gives an average of about 0.5c per kilowatt hour.

"On January 1, 1913, it was estimated that the Sanitary District was selling

power at a net saving to the above municipalities and parks in annual cash costs of from \$450,000 to \$500,000.

equipment; also to design and build the necessary stations, at least three in number, to take care of the new lighting.



Typical Installation of Tungsten Street Lights, Chicago, Ill.

"At present the installation at the power house is of seven equal units, totaling 28,000 kilowatts. The development can take care of a 24,000 kilowatt peak load and a continuous load of about 20,000 kilowatts. In addition the Sanitary District has 3,500 kilowatts in steam plants which can be used as reserve and for peak load periods.

"The power is transmitted a distance of 30 miles at 44,000 volts to the main distributing and transformer station at 31st and Western avenue. From this point, it is distributed at 12,000 volts to the thirty stations in Chicago and the suburbs.

"In the 12,000 volt lines feeding these various stations there are about 80 miles of cable and about 85 miles of overhead lines. Practically all of the lines feeding the lighting stations in Chicago are underground, the aerial lines being used to supply the stations at Blue Island, Wilmette, Forest Park and other outlying suburbs. The stations are so interconnected that there is little danger of main feeder trouble, throwing portions of the city in darkness.

In October, 1910, the Sanitary District entered into a contract with the city of Chicago to install 10,000 additional alternating-current arc lamps or their equivalent, and to rehabilitate the old system, replacing the old direct-current stations with modern alternating-current

"Four of the stations mentioned above have been built under this contract within the past two years and the most modern ideas have been utilized in their design and construction. The buildings are of neat and substantial construction, almost identical in appearance. Main switches are all remote control. Busses are inclosed and all exposed parts well insulated, so as to minimize the danger from accidental contact. The apparatus is arranged with an idea of making it accessible for repairs and replacements.

"The equipment of the three direct-current stations at Harrison and Halsted, at 64th and Wentworth and at Rice street and Lincoln avenue will soon be replaced by alternating-current equipment. Halsted street station has been cut over temporarily and will be made permanent within the next month. Work has been started on the other stations. The same type of construction will be used in these stations as in the four new stations now completed. When these stations are remodeled the lighting stations in Chicago will be in very good condition.

"The electrical department of the Sanitary District deserves credit for a number of important changes in the street lighting system of Chicago, as it advocated these changes, has done much of the necessary engineering and experimental work, and has co-operated with

the city of Chicago, to make these changes successful. The most important of these changes was the adoption of the long life series alternating-current flame arc lamp. When this lamp was first considered there was no lamp of this type in service or on the market. It was only after much experimental work had been done that a lamp of this type was produced which would operate satisfactorily. Another important feature is the adoption of the series tungsten system for residential districts, using the old gas lamp posts and providing them with a standard post head and large spherical globe. Underground construction is used, and the system is very attractive in appearance and has met with entire satisfaction. The application of a special raising and lowering device for arc lamps is another important change. This system saves considerable time and expense in trimming and repair of lamps and insures the men against all possible accident from electric shock.

"In carrying out its present contract with the city of Chicago to install a new and remodel the old lighting system, the Sanitary District has endeavored and is endeavoring to use, only the best of materials and the most modern ideas." (Applause.)

GAS STREET LIGHTING IN MODERN CITIES

"Gas Street Lighting in Modern Cities" was the subject of an address by F. V. Westermaier, consulting gas engineer, Philadelphia.

F. V. Westermaier

"The average citizen seldom realizes the important bearing that proper and adequate street lighting has on the growth, industry and moral welfare of the community. He insists on having a proper water supply, efficient fire and police departments, adequate sewer systems, and rapid transit facilities, but as long as there is enough light on the streets to enable him to find his way at night, he pays little or no attention to the illuminants used or their number, nor does he seriously contemplate the additional safety and comfort he would enjoy if the streets were better lighted.

"The American traveler seeing for the first time at night the streets of Berlin is amazed at the abundance of light in which they are bathed. Unconsciously he compares their illumination with that of the best lighted streets in America and concludes rashly that Berlin is extravagantly wasteful. However, after longer acquaintance with this active, modern city he realizes that its brilliantly lighted streets are necessary and essential to its life.

"Since the Franco-Prussian War, Berlin has been practically rebuilt to provide for a rapidly increasing population and growing industries. Its development has been along lines to promote efficiency, civic beauty, public health and safety, and stands today as the most modern of cities. As far as it was practicable, the residential districts have been removed from the manufacturing and commercial centers and so planned that each section can expand without crowding the others. Buildings are restricted as to height and to provide the necessary light and air. Broad, well paved streets, planned to form a comprehensive system for connecting all parts of the city, permit of rapid and safe vehicular travel. In the residential districts the sides are lined with trees and, wherever intersections permit, an open parked space is provided.

"As the city grew in size the lighting of the streets increased in importance. The influence of an abundance of light as a protection against crime was recognized, particularly by this cosmopolitan city. In addition to this the ever increasing vehicular traffic, the cleaning of streets, and the removal of refuse and garbage at night required adequate illumination.

"Careful studies of the various available gas and electric units were made by eminent engineers to determine a standard system to be employed throughout the city.

High Pressure Gas Street Lighting in Berlin

"Owing to the fact that on the regular pressure, gas units were limited to a maximum of 400 candle power, electric arc lamps of the flaming type seemed to have the advantage. Through the

development of special lamps using gas at two pounds instead of two ounces pressure, the efficiency of incandescent gas lighting was increased threefold. Moreover, it was possible to produce units capable of giving from 500 to 4,500 candle power.

"Trial installations of these lamps were made and as a result of several years' tests, high pressure gas lighting was decided upon for Berlin's principal streets because it fulfilled all the requirements for quantity and quality of light, economy of operation and absolute reliability. Continuous, uninterrupted service is assured by the fact that gas can be stored in holders and delivered as it is used. The plunging of a great city's streets into darkness would be a most serious calamity.

"The adoption of high pressure gas lighting to replace existing low pressure gas units and electric lamps on the important thoroughfares required the installation of special high pressure mains connecting the lamps with the compressor plants at the different gas works. For this purpose five-inch Mannesmann steel tubes were laid inside the curbs and driven under intersecting streets so that the paving would not be disturbed. Direct connected gas engine compressors in duplicate raise the gas from $2\frac{1}{2}$ ounces to $2\frac{1}{2}$ pounds pressure and deliver it to the lamp system. The cost of compression is very low: The ratio of gas used in the engines to the gas compressed is as 1 to 100. The pressure is automatically held constant and the compressor plants at the different gas works are so connected, as a precautionary measure, that one set or all can supply the lamps.

"The municipality of Berlin was so well satisfied with the character of the high pressure gas lighting, its flexibility, and fitness for the street system, that it appropriated the sum of seven million marks for the extension of the system. The expenditure is being made at the rate of one million marks a year to pay for main extensions and lamps and the entire installation will be completed by 1915. In 1905 there were 4 miles of streets lighted by high pressure gas units, in 1911, 37 miles, and at the present time about 60 miles.

"The different thoroughfares are clas-

sified in degrees of importance, the apportionment of the lighting units being as follows:

First class streets, 4,000 candle power units.

Second class streets, 2,000 candle power units.

Third class streets, 1,000 candle power units.

Fourth class streets, 500 candle power units.

"The 4,000 and 2,000 candle power units are mounted 19.5 feet above the street, the 1,000 candle power units, 18 feet and the 500 units candle power units, 16 feet. The spacing of lamps varies with the class of street and type of lamp from 90 to 135 feet apart.

"On streets of lesser importance and residence streets the lighting is by low pressure gas units ranging from 60 to 300 candle power.

"All the high pressure lamps are lighted and extinguished automatically from the compressing stations, each lamp being supplied with a controlling device.

"In the larger lamps three mantles $1\frac{1}{4} \times 3\frac{1}{2}$ inches are used, in the smaller types two mantles and in the very smallest, one mantle.

"For economy, the illumination is reduced at midnight by turning out two mantles in the larger lamps and one in the smaller lamps. In this way the intensity is reduced without impairing the uniformity of the lighting.

Adopted in Other Cities

"Since the installation of high pressure gas lighting in Berlin, practically all the principal cities have made installations, the most notable being London and Paris.

"In 1909, the City Council of London sent a committee to the principal cities on the continent for the purpose of investigating the most improved street lighting systems. On its return this committee recommended that London should adopt high pressure gas lighting on all streets where a high degree of illumination was required. As a result, the City of Westminster within the past few years has replaced practically all its electric arc lamps with high pressure gas lamps of 1,500 to 4,500 candle power.

Regent street, Piccadilly, Pall Mall, Kingsway and other principal thoroughfares are now abundantly yet economically gas lighted.

"Paris, long known as the 'City of Light,' has adopted high pressure gas lighting for its principal squares and some of its boulevards. In time, lamps of 2,000 and 4,000 candle power will replace the low pressure gas lamps on all important boulevards radiating from the Place de la Concorde.

"Other cities throughout Europe are following the examples of the three important capitals and it is only a question of time before the general desire for better and more street lighting will invade this country.

Gas Street Lighting in America

"Gas street lighting in America, although used in all our cities, has not received the appreciation and encouragement it deserves. In this country gas and electric companies operate under different legislative restrictions. Where the price of gas is fixed, the gas company is unable to give the city a preferred rate for street lighting, whereas the electric company is not so hampered, and in order to get street lighting business is willing and able to deliver the current at, or near, the net cost of generation and distribution.

"For years the gas street lighting of this city has been neglected, as it was not deemed worth while to improve it in view of the anticipated supply of cheap electrical energy from the Drainage Canal. Since this current became available, the installation of improved electric arcs has been carried out extensively in all parts of the city and as electricity advanced gas was retired. The people had become so discouraged with the service rendered by the old gas lamps, of most obsolete pattern, that they welcomed the change.

"Those sections of the city in which gas lighting was retained clamored for better service. The same spirit of open-mindedness which prompted the investigations of the city authorities in the selection of improved electric arcs, inspired them to investigate the possibility of improving the conditions of the existing gas service at the least possible

cost. Various types of low pressure gas units were studied with the result that within the past six months, all the old city gas lamps have been displaced with modern lamps which have been the means of raising the efficiency of the service over 100 percent. The effect of this example should encourage the extended use of the newer unit, not only in the present districts but also in those districts now and later to be lighted exclusively by Drainage Canal electric current, should raise the general illumination between blocks and also serve as a precautionary measure against a possible failure of the electric supply. What more serious catastrophe could occur than the failure of light on Chicago's busy streets? Continuous electric service is assured only so long as the generators at Lockport are in operation and the distribution system remains intact. As a safeguard against contingencies, gas street lighting should be retained as much as possible.

"As the supply of cheap Drainage Canal current for Chicago is limited by the capacity of the canal and generating plant and also by the government's restrictions on the quantity of water permitted to be withdrawn from the lake, it is not likely that there will be sufficient current to light the entire city. Current generated by other means would make electric arc lighting more expensive than at present.

Chicago Now Supplied With High-Pressure Mains

"To meet this contingency, high pressure gas lighting might profitably be considered in the future development of Chicago's street lighting system. Its introduction would be greatly facilitated by reason of the fact that at the present time the city is fairly well covered by a wonderful system of high pressure gas mains which serve to maintain an adequate supply of gas at all times in the regular distribution system. Special mains for street lighting could be run from the governing stations of the feeder system and the lighting and extinguishing of the lamps controlled from these points.

"As a modern illuminant, high pressure gas lighting will be one of the fea-

tures of the Panama-Pacific Exposition. It is intended to use it extensively for the lighting of the main grounds and exclusively for the concessions. Also, as a safeguard against any possible failure of the electric supply, gas lamps will be distributed throughout the electrically lighted sections.

"The steady development of the efficiency of gas lighting has placed it on an equal footing with the most improved electric lighting; its particular advantages for street lighting purposes have been realized by the modern cities which have adopted it. The possibilities of high pressure gas lighting in Chicago deserve to be studied." (Applause.)

Following the presentation of Mr. Westermaier's paper it was discussed from the floor.

STEPHEN T. MATHER: "When I was in Washington last fall going over the lighting system with Mr. Allen I noticed some gas lights on the same standards as the electric lights. Mr. Allen is here. I wonder if he would say a word about that."

WALTER C. ALLEN: "In two or three of the parks around the government buildings, the authorities in charge have used the ordinary mantle gas lamp burner in the same globe and on the same standard that is used for tungsten lamps. They put the ordinary mantle burner—which you have in use in your own streets—in a globe fourteen inches in diameter. It required only a change in the form of the top of the globe in order to provide ventilation for the gas mantle. The gas is of ordinary pressure; no high pressure gas is used."

Mr. Westermaier was asked about the relative cost of gas and electricity in Berlin and Chicago.

Cost of High-Pressure Gas Lighting

MR. WESTERMAIER: "In Berlin, the municipality delivers gas to the high pressure lamps at a price slightly above the actual cost of production; about forty cents per thousand cubic feet. I cannot state exactly the price of electric current in Berlin for street lighting purposes, but to the best of my recollection it is in the neighborhood of two to two and one-half cents per kilowatt hour.

"I wish that I had brought with me

figures showing the comparative costs of all the various gas and electric units but I can give, however, the comparative figures for lamps of 2,000 candle power. They are as follows: The total annual cost of the three-burner high pressure gas lamp—two mantles burning one-half night and one all night—is 325 marks or about \$81. The annual cost of the twelve ampere, direct-current triplex arc lamp, with double carbons, all night service, is 575 marks or about \$143. The maintenance cost of these flaming arc lamps is very high; the cost for the current supplied for 3,760 hours per year is 310 marks, while the maintenance costs 265 marks. The two items are nearly equal, whereas, with the gas lamps, the maintenance is very low in comparison."

MR. J. C. DICKERMAN: "I have seen data referring to the installation in Berlin which indicate that even if the city could get electric current for nothing the gas arcs now installed cost no more than the electric arcs would cost simply for maintenance and installation. In other words the difference in the maintenance cost of the gas and electric lamps is such as practically to eliminate—gas lighting being adopted—the cost of electricity. Besides, the gas that can be purchased for fifty cents there is fifteen or twenty per cent poorer in quality than what we get in America; 60 cents worth of our eighty cent gas would compare with their fifty cent gas in usefulness."

MR. RAY PALMER: "I have a table here which shows the relative cost of the underground Tungsten light of 80 candle power and the gas lamp which is guaranteed to give 50 candle power. At the present time the annual cost for electrical power for the tungsten light is \$2.11 at 5 cents per kilowatt hour, the rate charged by the Sanitary District, or \$2.95 at 7 cents per kilowatt hour, the rate charged by the Commonwealth Edison Company. This, as compared with a \$10 annual gas cost for a 50 candle power gas lamp, is very low.

"This shows why, so long as we have 80 cent gas and cheap electricity, we will continue with electricity for lighting wherever possible. If we had 40 or 50 cent gas the problem would be materially changed. I believe that in the

outlying districts of Chicago and the unimportant streets where there are gas mains today, gas lamps will be kept in service from five to ten years; but that in the built up sections of the city the gas and gasoline lamps will be replaced by the electric lamps as the electric system grows."

MR. MATHER: "I think that we who live on the South Side want to give a lot of credit to the city and the Sanitary District, yet we have one criticism to make and that is that they do not everywhere maintain separate circuits on different sides of the street. There are many streets where the same service covers the lighting on both sides of the street, and, as Mr. Westermaier said, if by some change the current is turned off, we will have darkness on these streets. On other streets where there is a different circuit on each side, when the lights on one side are turned off, there is still ample light on the other. If the policy of maintaining these separate circuits could have been carried out, one of Mr. Westermaier's principal objections to electric lighting would, I think, have much less weight so far as that particular lighting is concerned. Of course that would not affect the main feeder lines.

"I would like to ask Mr. Westermaier if the city of Berlin has to depend upon the boy on a bicycle to light and extinguish the lamps or is there an automatic system?"

Automatic Lighting Devices

MR. WESTERMAIER: "Extensive experiments have been carried on to perfect an automatic gas-lamp lighting device. In the ordinary low pressure gas lighting system, the gas lamps are all on the regular distribution system and it is practically impossible to find a device on the market that will meet with all street conditions. Consequently, since street lighting is really a police function, lighting by the patrol system is probably better, for the present, than by the use of any automatic device; it is safer. When the lamps are lighted by patrol they are inspected twice a day by the man who lights them and also by the regular inspector. The possible saving of gas and labor by the use of an au-

tomatic lighting device would be offset by the possibility of the device failing to operate.

"In high-pressure lighting, on the other hand, where the lights are on a separate system of mains, it is perfectly feasible to adopt an automatic lighting and extinguishing device. Such devices are in use in Europe today. It is very easy where you have a gas pressure of two and a half pounds to make an automatic device trip a lever and light or extinguish the lamp; either one burner or as many as may be desired.

Safety a Prime Consideration

"The most important consideration in street lighting, I believe, is safety and for that reason I made the suggestion that, in the extension of the electric light district, provision should be made for gas lamps. The time may come—and we can never tell when—when we will need them. Not many years ago there was a strike of the electrical workers in Paris and the principal boulevards radiating from the Opera House, the busiest section of Paris, were left in total darkness. Immediately the city set to work installing bronze gas lamp posts between electric lamps on those boulevards. They are not always lighted, but they are there for emergencies. On the Boulevard de l'Opera, the main boulevard leading down from the Opera House to the Rue de Rivoli, the posts are very ornamental. They are only equipped with plain burners, but on the other boulevards they are equipped with mantles, they are all ready to be lighted at a moment's notice. Safety is of prime importance in considering the street lighting of any city."

MR. A. B. GATES: "The arc lamps which you mentioned a moment ago in comparing costs of operation are multiple lamps, are they not, Mr. Westermaier?"

MR. WESTERMAIER: "Yes."

MR. GATES: "Then the comparison would not be quite fair for Chicago where we are using series arc lamps, which are far more efficient and long burning. This would cut down the comparative saving quite a little. The gas lamp could not show up as well if compared with the series arcs we are using here."

MR. WESTERMAIER: "In answer to that I will say that the quality of gas in Europe is not up to the standard quality of gas in the United States, so that the increased efficiency of the arc lamps, due to burning in series, will

probably be offset by the increased candle power obtained by the higher quality of the gas; a lower consumption could be used to maintain the same candle power."





The City Club Bulletin

Published by the CITY CLUB OF CHICAGO, 315 Plymouth Court

DWIGHT L. AKERS, Editor

VOLUME VI

WEDNESDAY, NOVEMBER 12, 1913

NUMBER 13

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PUBLIC SAFETY

"Public Safety" was discussed at a noon meeting of the City Club, Tuesday, September 23, by Peter M. Hoffman, coronor of Cook County; Captain Charles C. Healy of the Mounted Police, and Judge Sheridan E. Fry, of the so-called "Speeders' Court." Lyman O. Stanton, chairman of the City Club Committee on Accident Prevention, presided.

THE CHAIRMAN: "The City Club inaugurated the 'Safety First' movement in Chicago this spring by the appointment of a Committee on Accident Prevention, with 17 members, including lawyers, doctors, insurance men and representatives of industrial concerns.

"The subject-matter with which this committee is concerned is the protection of the public from accidents in public places, causes of such accidents and preventive methods, the operation of existing laws and ordinances relating to such accidents and the enactment and enforcement of laws to prevent or punish acts in public places dangerous to life and limb.

"Recently Coroner Hoffman brought this important question to the attention of the public and suggested the organization of a 'Safety Committee.' Response by the press and public was immediate, resulting in the appointment by

the coroner of 'The Public Safety Commission of Chicago and Cook County,' the City Club Committee on Accident Prevention being given representation on this commission. The railroads, street railways, industrial concerns and the public generally are helping the movement along, and there seems to be a widespread awakening of public opinion on the subject.

"I wish to say personally that I believe the quick remedy for the motor vehicle question is the licensing of all drivers (only chauffeurs are licensed now) and to give the courts power to suspend or cancel the licenses when necessary. A small booklet should be published giving the laws and rules of the road and a copy supplied to every owner and driver of a motor vehicle."

The chairman introduced Coroner Hoffman as the first speaker.

Peter M. Hoffman

"In theory, at least, a public official is merely the agent of the people. The relations between the people of this city and county and their public officials are, I believe, altogether too far distant. When the idea occurred to me of forming a general Public Safety Committee, I did not know that the City Club of this

city had already formed such a committee. Had I known that an organization of the standing of the City Club had formed a committee of this kind, I would have been only too glad to co-operate with this committee and to offer it all the information at the disposal of my office.

"As coroner of this county, with its population of upwards of 2,300,000, I believe I see more of the dark side of life than any other public official. I do not wish to speak egotistically, but I do believe that, in the eight years I have been your representative as coroner, I have done some things to make life safer in this community, and to reduce the death record considerably.

Study of Accident Causes Would Reduce Deaths

"I have held over 38,000 inquests since I have been coroner. That number, I believe, could have been considerably curtailed by intelligent and careful study of the various causes of death. For the first two years after I was first elected coroner, about eight years ago, there were, on an average, from forty to sixty cases of bathroom asphyxiation a year. In such cases, the bathrooms were generally found to be equipped with so-called 'instantaneous water heaters,' in which the water to be heated passes through coils in the stove and is heated by a gas flame. The evidence in these cases almost invariably showed that no odor of gas had been detected, that the flame had been extinguished, and that the deceased did not commit suicide. I thought for a long time that the relatives of the deceased were giving false evidence, so as to cover up suicide and so save the insurance, but I found out later that I was mistaken, as I will show you.

"One night about six years ago a friend of mine called me to his home on account of the death of his son. The boy's mother had gone to Michigan to pay a short visit, and the father was preparing the evening meal. The boy went to the bathroom to take a bath before supper. When the evening meal was ready, the father knocked upon the bathroom door, but there was no response. The door was locked, so, getting a stepladder, he looked through the tran-

som and saw the lifeless body of his son in the tub. My physician held a post-mortem examination and found that the boy had died of gas poisoning, although there was no odor of gas and no evidence of leaking gas jets. About two weeks later the father called at my office. I asked him why his son had committed suicide. He indignantly replied that his son had not committed suicide. I then decided to make an experiment. On the following Saturday I went to my friend's home, taking with me two physicians from my office and a plumber from the County Building. The plumber brought with him several feet of two-inch pipe, and on my way to the house I bought two guinea-pigs, two rabbits and two kittens. I requested the father to put the bathroom in the same condition that it was in when his son lost his life. We laid a board across the tub and placed upon it a cage in which were one of each of the animals which we had brought. We filled the bathtub with water, shut off the water in the basement, extinguished the gas under the stove, went out of the bathroom and shut the door. We watched the animals through the transom. In eighteen minutes the rabbit died; in twenty minutes the guinea-pig died; and in twenty-four minutes the kitten died. The physicians held a post-mortem examination and found that all of the animals had died of gas asphyxiation. We pumped from that room two gallons of air, and found that it contained one-half of one per cent of carbon-monoxide gas, absolutely odorless, the presence of which could not be detected until life became extinct.

"We then connected the instantaneous gas heater with the pipe which we had brought, running the pipe out of the window and thus connecting the heater with the outer air. We next placed the other animals in the bathroom and left them there for two hours. When we came back they were alive and as healthy as when we left them. As the result of our investigations, the jury in this case made a recommendation, since embodied in a city ordinance, requiring all water heaters in bathrooms to be connected with the open air. As a result, we have reduced the number of deaths in this class of cases during the last four or five years

from about sixty a year to from five to seven.

Deaths from Poisonous Gases

"In years past, from 40 to 60 men a year have lost their lives at the Union Stock Yards, due to ammonia asphyxiation. I remember the last unfortunate affair of this kind. It happened in one of the big cooling plants. The pipes conveying ammonia for cooling purposes had burst and thirteen men were killed. The fumes passed up the elevator shaft and killed 250 head of cattle upstairs. Large rotary fans were used to drive the fumes from that room, but it was a week before the coroner and the jury could enter it. When we got in, I picked up a hammer and struck out of the pipes. With an ordinary blow I could put a hole through those pipes almost anywhere. The jury, upon conferring with the coroner, returned a verdict recommending that all pipes conveying poisonous fumes should be inspected, and shortly thereafter an ordinance to that effect was passed by the City Council. Inspectors were appointed, and since that time, instead of having thirty, forty and fifty deaths a year from this cause, we have had but seven or eight. I think that is making some progress.

"I have described these cases merely to show that if the various causes of death were given careful, intelligent study, and the conclusions of such study were backed by strong public opinion, results would be obtained which would save sadness and sorrow from many a home.

Public Not Blameless

"Let me say, gentlemen, that in many of the accidents which come to the attention of the coroner, the public is not wholly blameless. In one-half, say, of the 38,000 cases that I mentioned, the public is to blame, because of its recklessness or carelessness. That being the case, we must conduct a campaign of agitation, urging all citizens to obey the law and to take all necessary precautions for their own safety.

"The drunken man operating a high-power machine upon the public streets of the city, the careless street-car driver, of course, do their share, but the chief offender is the speed maniac who runs through our streets with absolutely no

regard for human life. One careless man operating a vehicle can do more damage than a great deal of carelessness among pedestrians. A careless man, speeding up and down our streets and boulevards, may escape without taking life or injuring some one himself, but he may throw into confusion the street-car motorman, the careful automobile driver or the engineer at the throttle, and so bring about a situation in which there is no telling what may happen in the way of injury to life and limb.

"I believe the passage of an ordinance prohibiting people from crossing in the center of blocks would bring about tremendous results. The records show that about 65 per cent of those who are killed about the streets are killed in the center of blocks. I believe the passage of an ordinance such as I have mentioned, and the educating of the people to obey it and to cross streets only at intersections, would save a thousand lives a year in this city.

Accident Prevention Taught in Schools

"I have been chairman of the Board of Education where I reside for 24 years. We drill our children in school against the danger of fire. That suggested an idea. I called to the attention of the president of the Board of Education in Chicago, Mr. Reinberg, the fact that 25 children are killed upon our streets to one destroyed by fire. I asked Mr. Reinberg, 'Why not educate our children against the dangers they encounter in their daily going to and fro?' Mr. Reinberg appointed a committee of three to go into the question, and this committee waited upon me for information. I gave this committee my ideas and showed them a copy of my quadrennial report, wherein it tells what to do and what not to do to make life safer, and wherein it tells, in case of accident, what to do pending the arrival of a physician. The committee got 6,000 copies of this report and made it a rule that it should be upon the desk of every teacher. The children, especially those of the primary grades, are being instructed to take care of themselves. They are being instructed not to cross the street in the center of the block or to cross a street without looking both ways for teams, automobiles or street cars. I have had more than a dozen let-

ters from the parents of school children, thanking me for having made the suggestion which brought this about. By educating the children, I believe we will save a great many lives.

Homicides

"Murders and homicides in this city are growing in number. Only a short time ago a friend and neighbor of mine left his home one evening with a load of produce, on his way to the city market. On Lincoln avenue he was accosted by six ruffians. Armed with a butcher knife, clubs and a revolver, they demanded that he step off his wagon. My friend dropped the lines, raised his hands to heaven and begged for his life on behalf of his wife and children. With a curse, they pulled him from his wagon, backed him up against the rear of the wagon and crushed his skull with a large hickory club. The men who committed that crime met an untimely end. Since that crime was committed, however, the wives and the children of the farmers and truck gardeners of Cook County, who leave their homes in the evening on such trips as were taken by my friend, pray that their husbands and fathers may come home alive, and not mutilated corpses. The wives and children of men whose lives are sacrificed in this way often have the choice between secret poverty and public alms, and the children may be brought up on the streets of our large cities, without proper food, care or education. A great deal of our bad citizenship is due to that very cause. The young men of whom I spoke, who murdered that young farmer, were brought up so.

"In conclusion, I desire to say that I am ready and willing at all times to give my undivided time to this movement for public safety and supply any information at the disposal of my office that will aid in this humane cause and tend to make Chicago a better and safer city. I desire in this work the co-operation not only of your Committee on Accident Prevention, but of this Club and of every one of its members. The records of my office, which I am now having compiled by an expert statistician, will be thrown open to this or any other organization working on behalf of this cause.

The Public Safety Commission

"The objects of the Public Safety Committee, which has just been organized and which has its offices in the Otis Building, are manifold. Accidents of all kinds come within its jurisdiction; street-car accidents, automobile accidents, drownings, industrial accidents, or any other. It is my intention to classify the accidents which are recorded in the coroner's office and to furnish statistics of these accidents to the general Public Safety Committee, along with a copy of every verdict rendered in every case handled by my office. If this committee were to be increased, say to forty, these verdicts, containing, as they do, the essence of each case, might be referred to various sub-committees, and by them given comprehensive and intelligent study. There is no doubt but that, if this were done, satisfactory results would be obtained. The Public Safety Committee has, up to the present time, had over one hundred violations of the law reported to it. The commission will make a card index of such reported violations and will submit a report to Judge Fry for his information. I am going to ask every one of you, if you observe any flagrant violation of the law by a street-car conductor, a wagon driver or automobile driver, to report it to the Safety Commission. That is your duty as American citizens in this campaign of education and publicity." (Applause.)

THE CHAIRMAN: "Coroner Hoffman tells me that the motorcycle police on the boulevards report that since this public safety agitation started, the speed violations have been reduced one-third."

Captain Charles C. Healy of the Mounted Police of Chicago, spoke next.

Captain Charles C. Healy

"My work and the work of the mounted police of Chicago consists of regulating the movement of traffic upon the streets for the safety of the pedestrians and of the drivers of all classes of vehicles. We have been trying for the past six years to make the streets in the downtown district safe, and I believe that accidents in this district, where the rules of the road have been strictly enforced, have been reduced to a minimum.

Loop Traffic Conditions Unique

"In that district, gentlemen, are traffic conditions that exist in no other city of the world. I had the honor some time ago of being selected by the Association of Commerce to make an investigation of the traffic and transportation conditions of thirty-five cities in the old world, and I saw no city with conditions approaching those in the so-called 'loop district' of Chicago. In this territory of less than a mile square, bounded by the river on the west and north, Van Buren street on the south, and the lake on the east, there are fifty-eight square blocks.

"Compare the traffic of this district with that of the city of London, for instance. There is nothing in the city of London like that wonderful corner at State and Madison streets, Chicago, between the hours of 12 and 1, any fine day. That is the busiest pedestrian traffic corner of the world, without exception.

"Fifty-three of the streets in this area are occupied by street railways, thereby making the congested condition even worse, for a tie-up on one of the street railways ties up the street. When there is a large fire in this territory, for instance, congestion of street cars and other vehicles follows immediately, because the street cars cannot be diverted from the rails, and the congestion of all other traffic is the result.

"Fourteen movable bridges center into your loop district, a condition that does not exist in any other city of the world. A year ago our office showed that in one day—in one hour less time—sixteen per cent more traffic passed over one of our Chicago bridges than passes over that wonderful bridge in the city of London—London bridge.

"In the territory bounded by Chicago avenue on the north, Desplaines street on the west, Twelfth street on the south, and the lake on the east, there are over 130,000 vehicles upon the streets every twenty-four hours.

Conditions Greatly Improved

"In spite, however, of these very congested conditions in the downtown district, I think I am safe in saying that we have brought about some real improvement in the past six years. That

improvement, gentlemen, has been brought about through the co-operation of the public in rendering needed assistance, and particularly of the employers in insisting upon their teamsters learning and obeying the rules of the road.

"In this connection, I desire to pay my respects to his honor, Judge Fry, for his valuable assistance since he has occupied the bench in the so-called 'Speeders' Court.' If it had not been for the institution of that court, with Judge Fry and other honorable gentlemen on the bench, we would hardly be able to cross our streets with a feeling of safety. There is no doubt but that, since the institution of that court, the number of reckless drivers has been considerably diminished. Every possible assistance has been rendered by this court to the police department in the enforcement of speed rules and the rules of the road.

Regulating Pedestrian Traffic

"What can we do to improve traffic conditions in our loop district with reference to safety? For the past four years I have advocated a law which will compel pedestrians to obey the street traffic rules, at the command of the officers in charge at the various corners. When the London 'bobby' upon the street corner raises his hand, everything stops as though by magic. They have no better laws than we. But the pedestrians have learned obedience to the directions of the officers. The officers are instructed to enforce the law, and do enforce it without fear or favor. We also make laws to enforce them but sometimes fail to give them as strict enforcement as they should have. It is absolutely necessary that we should have a law governing pedestrians, particularly in the loop district, between the hours of seven in the morning and six at night, say, or at any other time during the twenty-four hours when there are officers in charge of the streets. We ought to give the officers the respect that is their due and assist them in enforcing the laws against offenders. If it were not for the majority of law-abiding citizens who seek to comply with the laws and to assist in forcing others to comply with them, life would not be safe upon the streets of the city of Chicago.

"I believe also that the time will come

when you will insist, through the medium of legislation, on pedestrians crossing at the corners of streets and not in the middle of blocks. As Coroner Hoffman has stated, about 65 per cent of all street accidents happen between corners, away from the street crossings.

Protecting Crossings in Outlying Districts

"Here is another point: We do not have a sufficient number of men to place in the outlying districts to give police protection at crossings. It is impossible for the general superintendent to add to the number already at such work because of the shortage of money. I believe the time is coming, gentlemen, when you will insist upon having officers on the street corners in many of the outlying districts, and even at alley crossings in congested districts.

"We have in the loop district less than two hundred policemen. To guard what? A territory from a quarter to a half mile square filled with people daily. We have in that district 3,100 street cars every twenty-four hours. Nearly seven hundred millions of people were carried last year by your surface lines alone, a large percentage of whom were taken in or out of the loop district. Nearly one-third of the passengers carried by the Chicago City Railway Company on the South Side, and, I am informed, 27½ per cent of the passengers carried by the Chicago Railways Company were brought into or out of the loop district. About 1,550,000,000 people were carried by all the trunk lines, electric lines and suburban lines of all descriptions in the city of Chicago. Is it not wonderful, considering the enormous number of people that the figures show to have been carried in and out of that loop district daily, that the coroner has not had more to contend with in that district than he has?

Enforcement of Traffic Laws in London

"The more I study the situation, gentlemen, the more I am struck with the practicability of the licensing proposition mentioned by the chairman a few moments ago. I believe we might license every person who operates a vehicle of any description. In London, when a man violates one of the traffic laws, he is summoned into court—not arrested—

for his violation of the law, and for a first offense he receives a minimum fine, twenty-five shillings, with a suspension of his license for thirty days. A second offense brings a fine of four hundred shillings with a revocation of the license for six months. A third offense brings a perpetual revocation of the license, so that the driver can never again operate any kind of a vehicle upon the public streets. There seems no other alternative, gentlemen, but the imposing of some such penalty as that on reckless drivers.

"We need the co-operation of employers. They should direct their men to give strict obedience to traffic laws as they are now spread on the statute books. There should be co-operation also on the part of the employees. I was recently asked to come before the Teamsters' Union of this city to suggest means of bettering traffic conditions on the streets. Never before in the history of Chicago had a policeman—just a common, ordinary policeman—been asked to come before such a body for such a purpose.

"Last year, through the courtesy of the Chicago Association of Commerce, I gave 112 lectures on street traffic at some thirty churches, schools, and other meetings of all descriptions. At those 112 meetings over 20,000 people were in attendance.

"If we could receive from the pedestrians and drivers the proper amount of co-operation, with a somewhat revised set of traffic laws and regulations, we would greatly reduce our street accidents, particularly with reference to the heavy traffic portion of the city." (Applause.)

Judge Sheridan E. Fry of the "Speeders' Court" was introduced.

Judge Sheridan E. Fry

"I have no doubt that the statement made by Coroner Hoffman and quoted by your chairman is true, because agitation on a subject of this character is bound to bring results. The City Council, for instance, made several efforts to get an ordinance referring to glaring headlights that would meet the situation and finally adopted an ordinance on this subject. The Council and the city law department even now are not sure of just what they want, but I am sure that

there is not a man within reach of my voice, who drives an automobile or who rides in one, who does not recognize that, because of the agitation on this subject during the last sixty days, conditions have wonderfully improved. Although very few arrests have been made—probably not over fifty—you are no longer met on the streets and boulevards by glaring headlights as you were sixty days ago. So I believe in discussion and agitation. Even if the City Club Committee on Accident Prevention, or Coroner Hoffman's Committee on Public Safety, get no further than that stage, good results are bound to be attained.

"The conditions in our downtown loop district, pointed out by Captain Healy, are true, not only of that district, but of the whole city of Chicago. One hundred years ago there were not more than a dozen white men on the site now occupied by the city of Chicago; and yet their descendants go from New York to Chicago in the short space of eighteen hours by rail. That situation exists, too, in our own local transportation problem in the city of Chicago. Between the horse car of not many years ago and the present quick transportation by our surface electric cars, many times attaining a speed of thirty miles an hour, there is absolutely no comparison. These changed conditions have created the accident problem.

"In a great community like Chicago we can never entirely eradicate accidents. We are bound to have them. The question now before us is how to reduce them to the absolute minimum.

Automobile Accidents

"In the automobile situation in Chicago we have a very serious problem. Perhaps we are giving it an undue amount of attention. The records of the police department will show, I believe, that the greatest number of accidents are caused by street cars, and the next greatest number by vehicles of various sorts. According to the statistics of the police department, there were 3,989 street railway accidents in 1912, and 3,392 accidents by teams and vehicles, of which number 1,551 were automobile accidents. Thus, although it is true that automobiles are responsible for a per-

centage of the accidents, we ought to give more attention to the street railway as a cause of accidents.

"We do have, however, a serious problem in the automobile situation, and it is important that we should deal with it wisely. The secretary of state of Illinois several days ago told me that he was then issuing licenses in the ninety thousands, and that he expected by January 1 to reach one hundred thousand. Last year, he said, Secretary of State Doyle issued licenses in the seventy thousands only. I was told this noon at the vehicle tax bureau at the City Hall that there were, up to this minute, 24,342 licenses for motor vehicles in the city of Chicago entered on the books of that bureau. That number is made up of 17,829 motorcycles and automobiles under 35 horsepower, 2,405 automobiles of more than 35 horsepower, 2,037 automobile delivery wagons, 1,478 automobile trucks with a capacity of one ton or more, and 593 demonstrating machines. With this great number of cars running to and fro in the city of Chicago, with those that come here every day from the suburbs, adjoining cities, and even from places far distant, and with the vast amount of pedestrian travel that there is in the city of Chicago, we can readily see how serious this automobile problem becomes.

A "Reasonable Rate" Statute

"We have at the present time a statute regulating the rate of speed of motor vehicles. It may be designated as 'a reasonable rate statute.' It says that no one shall drive a motor vehicle upon the street at a speed greater than is reasonable and proper, having regard to the traffic and use of the way, so as to endanger the life or limb or injure the property of any person. Sometimes determining what is a reasonable rate of speed proves to be a very elastic proposition, like the question, 'How long is a string?'

"Section 10 of the 'Motor Vehicle Law' of Illinois says that on a business street ten miles an hour shall be regarded as a *prima facie* violation, and that in a closely built-up residence section of a city, village or town, 15 miles an hour; in the outlying districts 20 miles an hour, and in a country road 25 miles an hour shall be considered such a violation. The

Appellate Court has held that when a violation of 15 miles an hour is shown on a residence street the burden is on the defendant to show that the rate of speed was reasonable and safe, and that there was no particular danger to life, limb or property. Our difficulty is that in this great city, with its population of two million, we are never able to determine absolutely that at a given speed there is safety at any given place.

"It seems to me that the remedy to this situation is legislation. If the Accident Prevention Committee of this Club and Coroner Hoffman's committee are going to do their full duty, they must demand from the General Assembly adequate legislation, and go to Springfield after it. During the last session of the Legislature, gentlemen representing certain private interests and a certain clientele were in Springfield seeking legislation in reference to automobiles. It would be well for the City Club, Coroner Hoffman's committee, and others, also to have their representatives in Springfield looking out for legislation, so that the people's interests may be thoroughly safeguarded.

Cities Prohibited from Limiting Speed

"The motor vehicle law of Illinois prohibits the passage of any laws by any municipality, except the parks, in reference to the speed of vehicles. The city of Chicago is thus prohibited from passing laws limiting the rate of speed. In my trips during the summer to various small towns in the state of Illinois, I frequently found a sign on entering a town which said, 'State automobile law, 10 miles an hour; cars are prohibited from driving in the streets of this city at more than 10 miles an hour.' Of course, that is not the law. There could be no conviction on proof of driving in excess of 10 miles an hour under such circumstances. But if the public officials of small towns, as a matter of public safety, have prescribed a speed of not to exceed 10 miles an hour, how much more necessary is such a regulation in regard to a great city like Chicago, with automobiles running everywhere? I say that it is necessary to go to the Legislature for additional legislation.

All Drivers Should Be Licensed

"The suggestion has been made here by one of the speakers that all drivers of motor vehicles should be licensed. The state law provides that a chauffeur who disobeys the law, or who has been convicted for a certain offense, may have his chauffeur's license taken away from him for varying periods, somewhat as under the London law that Captain Healy told us about. Now, the chauffeur, as a rule, is a good mechanic, and knows at least as much about running an automobile as the ordinary citizen who drives one. He has been trained in that line of work and devotes his whole time to it. On the other hand, the average man who runs a machine has some other man to take care of it, and knows very little about the mechanical make-up of his machine himself. Why should we single out the chauffeur and take his license away if he has been found guilty of violating the law, and not take away the license of the man who has an automobile simply for his own pleasure and that of his family and knows but little about its operation? It is unjust and unfair so to discriminate against the chauffeur. I have had many chauffeurs before me as many as two or three times. I might personally have wanted to recommend to the secretary of state that their licenses be revoked, yet the unfairness of revoking the chauffeur's license when other persistent violators of the speed law could not be dealt with in this way was such that I could not in a single case recommend the revocation of the chauffeur's license. I was going to do it in one case, but found that the man had no license.

"There is no occasion for any man who owns an automobile to be ashamed or afraid to take an examination qualifying him for the running of his car. I have frequently told chauffeurs the same with regard to the question of wearing their badges on their coats as required by state law. It is no disgrace for any man, whatever his profession, to take an examination for a license. If he cannot pass the same tests that are applied to a chauffeur, he certainly should not be permitted to drive an automobile up and down the streets of the city of Chicago. Such a man, once thoroughly tested,

would be a better and safer driver even than the chauffeur, because he would realize the responsibility of his position and because of the obligations of his station in life.

Should Be Fixed Legal Rate of Speed

"I believe we must eventually in the city of Chicago determine a fixed legal rate of speed for motor vehicles. I believe that the rate of speed that is now made a *prima facie* violation of the law on the business streets of the city of Chicago—10 miles an hour—is as fast as any machine should travel on a business street, such, for instance, as North Clark, Sixty-third or Madison street. I believe that on any ordinary residence street, a speed of 10 miles an hour is fast enough, and the law should fix such a rate. Consider what a rate of 15 miles an hour means in the city of Chicago. Bryn Mawr avenue is seven miles north of State and Madison; Sixty-third street is seven miles south, and Central avenue seven miles west. At 15 miles an hour, you could go from one of those extremes to any other in less than an hour. In the city of Chicago, with such traffic conditions as we have in the business section and in the outlying districts, an hour for covering that distance is not too slow. In my experience, I have found very few cases coming before me where any good reason is given for haste.

"I have before me a statement of the number of automobile accidents that happened in the city of Chicago last June. There were 210 such accidents last June, nine fatal and 201 non-fatal. I marked off last night on a map of Chicago distances of one, two, three, etc., miles from the court house and ascertained the number of accidents occurring within each of these one-mile zones. They were as follows:

Miles from court house	Number of accidents
1	45
2	16
3	35
4	29
5	24
6	15
7	17
8	8
9	9
10	3

11	1
12	4
13	3
14	1

In the downtown district, with which Captain Healy has to deal, an exceedingly congested area, you would, of course, expect more automobile accidents. In the second mile, bounded by North avenue on the north, Twenty-second street on the south and Ashland avenue on the west, the traffic is largely confined to the boulevards, well patrolled by park policemen, so that the number of accidents was not so large—only sixteen. With this exception, the number of accidents, broadly speaking, is shown to be less the farther from the congested business center, but there is no place in the city of Chicago where you can say that the streets are absolutely safe.

Additional Powers Needed by Court.

"Therefore, it seems to me that we must have some fixed speed law and some fixed punishment for violations. The court does not desire simply to impose fines and penalties. As a matter of fact, the 'Speeders' Court,' if it so desired, might take in ten dollars where it now takes in but one. Instead, the desire has been simply to make the punishment effective. The second and third offenses are dealt with more severely than the first. But, in any law that is contemplated, the court should have the power, under certain conditions, to commit offenders to prison. There will never be any effective stopping of speed law violations in this city until the court has the power to send men to the bridewell or the county jail. I believe that if, out of the 1,527 cases before the 'Speeders' Court' during the months of June, July and August, fifteen or twenty of the worst offenders each month had been committed to the bridewell it would have served as a warning that in a short time would very appreciably abate the nuisance of fast driving in the city of Chicago.

"We have on the streets of this city, according to the figures of the vehicle tax department, something like 24,000 motor vehicles. I have had before me in nine months about 4,000 violators of the speed law. That means that nearly

one-sixth of the automobile-owning public have been brought into court for violating the speed laws during that period. The police make practically no arrests for a speed of under 25 miles an hour, unless it should be maintained in front of a schoolhouse or in some busy section of the city.

Statistics of Violations.

"In three months—June, July and August—out of 1,527 cases, I found these various rates of speed charged against persons brought before the court:

Miles per hour	Number of cases
20	4
21	1
22	6
23	4
24	12
25	404
26	271
27	246
28	178
29	89
30	113
31	36
32	35
33	22
34	17
35	29
36	11
37	7
38	8
39	2
40	8
41	2

42	5
43	2
44	2
45	4
46	3
47	1
48	3
49	1
50	1

"Going to my home neighborhood in the country, one hundred miles west of here, three hours' time is required by train. Yet, as shown by these figures, there are a great many people riding on the streets of Chicago in automobiles, not bound down to iron rails, at a speed of thirty, thirty-five, and even up to fifty miles an hour—almost as fast as the speed attained by a flying machine.

"Something must be done. We must, as I said, have legislation that will fix a specific legal rate of speed, instead of leaving the determination as to what is a reasonable rate of speed to haphazard judgment. When we have such a law, with the right to impose a jail sentence at the discretion of the court, we will, I think, be able to reduce the great number of accidents that we have in the city of Chicago today.

"In the meantime it will be necessary to agitate this subject through the press, through the schools and in every other way. This is a very serious problem, and I hope, gentlemen, that the work which has been started here will bear fruit. I thank you very much." (Applause.)

FIRE PREVENTION

October 9, 1913, the anniversary of the Chicago fire, was designated by Governor Dunne as "Fire Prevention Day" throughout the state of Illinois. On that date a special meeting of the City Club was held for the discussion of fire prevention. The speakers were John C. McDonnell, chief of the Bureau of Fire Prevention and Public Safety, Chicago, and Herman L. Ekern, commissioner of insurance of Wisconsin. Frank D. Chase, chairman of the City Club Committee on Fire Protection, presided.

THE CHAIRMAN: "The one word in the English language that stirs us all

is 'fire.' Our fear of that word is due to its personal menace.

"The lessons this city learned from the Iroquois fire, which cost us so many hundred lives, have resulted in the establishment in this city of a Bureau of Fire Prevention and Public Safety. We are leading practically all of the cities in the country in that particular, although in some others we are far behind. New York City, for instance, has its high-pressure water supply. We need a high-pressure water system in this city, and one of these days we will get it.

"Shortly after the Bureau of Fire

Prevention was organized in 1912, John C. McDonnell of the city fire department was appointed its chief. Chief McDonnell has been fighting fires in Chicago for the last twenty-eight years, and he knows the game from A to Z. He has been blown out of basements, he has been blown out of windows, and has had the usual experience of the fire-fighter. A few months ago he went abroad and studied European ideas of fire protection and fire prevention, and has come back to his work full of enthusiasm and fresh knowledge. He is carrying on the work of his bureau under the handicap of a rather limited appropriation. He is doing a splendid work in training our firemen. We all ought to back up the work of this bureau in every way possible." (Applause.)

Chief McDonnell was introduced and spoke as follows:

John C. McDonnell

"It is absolutely unnecessary for me—and, in fact, I haven't prepared the necessary data—to go into a rehearsal now of the extent of the annual fire waste in this country, and particularly in Chicago, which contributes very handsomely its share of fire losses throughout the country. Those things have been talked and written about by experts. Some experts say that the loss runs to \$250,000,000; others will tell you it runs to \$225,000,000. Both amounts are excessively large as compared to the small losses in the countries of continental Europe. Whether these statistics are all correct or not really cuts but little figure; the fire losses in this country are enormous.

"In the early part of 1911 Mayor Harrison sent a message to the City Council calling attention to these conditions as they apply to Chicago, and advising that something be done to check the conditions that create fires, and so to reduce the loss of lives and property in the city of Chicago. The subject was considered by the Building Committee of the Council and by them referred to a special committee, which, after many months of labor, compiling information and studying the work of such men as Franklin H. Wentworth, and the laws of New Jersey and of other states, recommended the ordinance under which we are now operating. This ordinance

was subsequently recommended by the Building Committee to the City Council, and was passed by the Council July 22, 1912. Some members of the Council thought it too drastic and thought that some of its provisions were confiscatory, but the ordinance was passed as it now stands.

Fire Prevention Bureau Organized

"The fire marshal, after conferring with the mayor, appointed me chief of this new bureau. Two fire prevention engineers were provided for in the original ordinance. Besides these engineers and myself, the staff of the bureau consisted of a stenographer, a clerk and six 'first-class firemen,' detailed from the fire department. For the balance of 1912 very little was done outside of the lines previously pursued, including theater and department store supervision and getting fire drills in those places, the only buildings in which, up to that time, fire drills were required by law. The time was devoted principally to the work of organization.

"In 1913 we received an appropriation of about \$50,000. As you know, however, in the early part of this year, the city was considerably embarrassed for want of money. As the result of retrenchments made at that time, out of the twenty-six men appropriated for we got an addition of only three. Not until last June did we get the full quota of men provided for by the appropriation.

"Other cities have organized bureaus of this character. The city of New York has a very large bureau, which is receiving a very great deal of money and is no doubt doing a great deal of good. There is, however, in New York a lack of co-operation between the fire department and the fire prevention bureau, for the reason that the man in charge is the only active man in the bureau who is also connected with the force.

Prevention Bureau a Training School for Firemen

"Here the firemen make all the inspections. Twenty-six men are detailed from the fire department to this bureau. These men are all eligible for promotion in the department, having taken the civil service examination for the first promotional step, namely, that of a company lieutenant. They come in their turn to

this bureau, and when a vacancy occurs outside, they go back into a company. I suggested this plan when the organization of the bureau was being considered because I believed that the experience in the fire prevention bureau would be valuable for these men, that they would return to the service imbued with the idea of the importance of fire prevention.

"To illustrate the benefits obtained by these fire fighters whose experience has been of just the ordinary sort—that is, how to fight fire, how to eat smoke and digest it and to live through it—I will call attention to the classes we have for our inspectors every Monday morning at the City Hall. The men are shown the plans of buildings and are required to make sketches showing the floor plans, the irregularity of stairs, the exposures between those and other buildings, defective chimneys, parapet walls and location of boilers. When they check up a risk, they draw a sketch of the building on the back of their report. Thus, when you read the report on the defects in a building, you see them graphically illustrated on the back of the report. Very often the owner or agent, the lessee or tenant, comes in and says, 'Such and such is not the case.' But we turn to the back of the report and show him the plan of the building, and that the inspector knows more about his building than he does himself.

"Through these methods we expect in time to have the spirit and principle of fire prevention and public safety gain a better foothold in the fire department than it has at the present time. It is not always easy to convince people who have been doing things in a particular way that something new is a benefit. Some members of the department did not take very kindly to the fire prevention idea. It brings to my mind the feeling that existed back in the early eighties against the automatic sprinkler. Some of the old-timers, with all due respect to them, thought 'the only way to put out a fire was to go at it with pipe and ax, and smash windows, mirrors and showcases.' It took some time to educate them, but I am glad to say they are being converted to the efficiency of the automatic sprinkler system.

"So it is now with fire prevention. But the feeling against this movement

is not very general. The members of the department have for the most part taken kindly to it, and as the men pass back and forth between the department and the fire prevention bureau they will in time become preventionists.

The Fire Prevention Ordinance

"There are 334 different sections in the fire prevention ordinance covering as many conditions that cause fires. Boiler installations, ovens, roasters, defective stairs and fire escapes are some of the subjects dealt with. Two matters that have occupied a great deal of our time since the institution of the bureau are the regulation of garages and the use of gasoline, benzine, naphtha and the other forms of volatile liquids in dry-cleaning establishments.

"We found that, while the ordinance was being applied quite rigidly to many classes of buildings—mercantile buildings, theaters, dance halls, and so on—the churches were all careless. They all, I presume, thought that the hand of the Almighty was taking care of them, and that they did not need fire apparatus or exit doors. We had to go after the churches. We sent notices to nearly every pastor in the city to comply with the ordinance in regard to exit doors during the hours of service and to install exit signs and some few pieces of fire apparatus.

Fire Prevention a New Work

"It is only in recent years that the world, at least this country, has been awakened to the necessity of fire prevention work. It is only through the missionary efforts of such men as Mr. Wentworth that the cities and the states have taken up the work of fire prevention as generally as they have. As the result of these efforts perhaps twenty states are observing this day as 'Fire Prevention Day,' commemorating the great fire of Chicago.

"Our bureau is receiving valuable assistance from many sources. We are inviting assistance from all civic organizations and clubs such as this is. We have been getting considerable assistance and suggestions from the women's trades unions. They, of course, are vitally interested in the fire drills in fac-

tories. The best men in the bureau have been sent out on this problem of fire drills in factories and buildings where large numbers of people are employed. Only a few days ago I inspected a fire drill at Monroe and Market streets. In less than four minutes eighteen hundred people were discharged from the upper floors of that building to the street. I thought it was a very satisfactory exhibition, considering the short time that the fire drill had been in force there. That is a very vital feature of the bureau, and something that we are very deeply interested in. It is really receiving a great deal of encouragement from those whom we require to hold fire drills. It is a daily occurrence, after sending notices to the owner or manager of some line of business, to receive in acknowledgement of that notice his thanks and appreciation for calling attention to things that had never been thought of before.

"Gentlemen, we still have a great deal to learn in our bureau. We know we are not perfect. The bureau is new and we shall be glad, not only to obtain and to receive your co-operation but your criticism, where criticisms are justified. I am glad to be here today, to say just these few words." (Applause.)

Herman L. Ekern, commissioner of insurance of the state of Wisconsin, spoke next.

Herman L. Ekern

"The city of Chicago is to be congratulated upon initiating its fire prevention program under the leadership of a man who takes the heartfelt interest in his work that your Chief McDonnell does. I shall not tell you, however, that you can sit back and rest merely because you have entered upon this work to the extent that you have. There is too much to do. You do not compare well with the cities of the old world—none of the cities in this country do.

"As you probably have noted from the daily press, the city of Chicago, for the first nine months of this year, shows a fire loss of four and one-third millions of dollars, as against a loss of three and one-third millions of dollars for the same nine months during the preceding year—a net increase of one million dollars. Your average annual fire losses are ap-

proximately five million dollars, but if your present average loss continues during the rest of the year, your losses this year may well amount to nearly six million dollars. As compared with the city of Berlin, with an annual fire loss of perhaps a quarter of a million dollars, this seems like a scandalous waste.

Excuses for Fire Loss Not Sound

"The excuses that have been given for the failures of our cities in dealing with the fire problem, although perhaps satisfying, are not sound. It has been the custom to excuse this great waste because of the difference of building construction between the continental cities and our own. That excuse does not hold. If you were to raze this city today and preserve its people, they would rebuild the city, but unless their methods of thought on this subject changed, the fire loss would not be greatly modified. Any fire marshal or any engineer who has studied the problem will tell you that most of the fires in our cities are due, not to defects in construction, but to transient causes, which can most nearly be described as the method of housekeeping. No kind of construction will wholly do away with those fires.

"We have explained our fire loss in this new country partly on the ground that the development of our cities has been unparalleled. It is true that we have some large cities which have grown from nothing in a decade or two, but if we compare some of our large cities, established say thirty years ago, with some of the progressive cities of Germany, the comparison is not to our advantage. Buffalo, in thirty years, increased in population 173 per cent; Cologne, 253 per cent. New Orleans increased 57 per cent; Dresden 248 per cent. Louisville increased 81 per cent; Hanover 146 per cent. Detroit is pointed to as having made the greatest progress in this country in the last ten years, but the gain was only 63 per cent. Duesseldorf, of about the same size, gained 67 per cent. Continental cities have to meet the problem of rapid growth just as our cities do, but their fire losses will not compare in extent with ours. We cannot excuse ourselves from the responsibility for the excessive fire loss on the ground of the rapid

growth of our cities more than on the ground of defective construction generally.

Criminal Carelessness—Not Arson—Cause of Most Fires

"Let us clear away another cobweb. It has been charged, through the public press of this country, that most fires are due to the criminal acts of the 'fire bug.' The best statistics show that not to exceed five per cent of the losses are due to arson. While there are a large number of fires for which causes cannot be assigned, there is no legitimate excuse for charging any large proportion of them to criminal arson. Arson appears sporadically, and while convictions are difficult to secure, any tendency to continued operations is generally checked by the public authorities. Fire waste is not due to criminal acts primarily, but to a moral carelessness which the public, I say, should condemn almost as a criminal act.

"Suppose one individual controlled half of the personal property of this nation, and suppose he threatened to destroy that property either by his direct act or by negligence to permit its destruction. How long would the people of this country face that threat without taking steps to remedy it? And yet it is simply carelessness, neglect of conditions, which is responsible for most of the fire waste today. The reports of our state fire marshals show that from 40 to 80 per cent of our fires are due to purely transient conditions, mainly to carelessness, and that these conditions in the great majority of cases are easily removable.

"Now there is only one conclusion to be drawn from this: Remove half of the causes of fires and you stop half of the fires. We are not asking that conditions in this country shall be brought immediately to the standard maintained in the countries of Europe, but it is a very reasonable estimate, judging from the statistics available, that the fire losses in this country can be reduced by one-half within the short period of five years.

The Cost of Fires

"What do these fires cost you? I said the losses in Chicago were five million dollars per year. They are increasing, but to distribute the indemnity for those

five million dollars of losses you pay an annual fire premium of over ten million dollars, and to protect your property against the spread of these fires and against the danger of conflagration you spend another three and one-third million dollars. There is a tax in this city today of upwards of twenty millions of dollars for the visible losses from fires, not to speak of the great losses from interruption to business and the loss of life and limb. Wipe out half of the losses, and you can wipe out almost half the cost of this great waste.

"During the last two and one-half years we conducted an investigation into the business of fire insurance in Wisconsin. The investigation was conducted by a committee of the state Legislature. Why did we have a legislative committee and not a commission? Experience has taught us that while members of the Legislature may not bring to the solution of problems the expert knowledge, education and training which would be desirable in considering these problems, they do bring a practical knowledge of how much the Legislature and the people will stand for in the way of legislation. Through them in succeeding Legislatures are enacted laws which generally remain on the statute books and become a living force in the daily life of the community, while the recommendations of expert commissions, quite generally, are printed in extensive volumes and are put on the shelf and forgotten. Our legislative committees in Wisconsin quite generally hire expert service and avail themselves of volunteer committees, like those you have in the City Club.

Education the Remedy

"We made, as I said, in Wisconsin, a legislative investigation into the business of insurance. When we began to study the problem of reducing fire losses, we found that improvements in the structural condition of buildings would be a matter of very slow growth. We were startled, moreover, to find that, as I have indicated, they did not promise any great reduction in our fire losses. We found that fires are caused by easily recognizable conditions, which can be diagnosed with just as much certainty as a physician diagnoses the disease of his patient, and which can be just as easily removed.

There seemed but one conclusion—that the remedy was to educate the public. You can educate the pupil in the public schools because you compel him to go to the schools. You can't educate the adult in the same way. You must bring the school to him.

Inspections in Wisconsin

"We found, in our investigation, that the insurance companies were going through every building, dwelling houses excepted, in the state of Wisconsin, from garret to cellar—for what purpose? For the purpose of determining the rates which they should charge for the different conditions which caused fires. We asked the simple question, 'Why can't the knowledge of those conditions be used for the purpose of securing their removal?'"

"At first we proposed that the insurance companies should be required to make inspections for fire prevention purposes. This met with the objection that the fire companies were in the business of providing indemnity for fire losses and were interested only in the property covered by their insurance, and that as only a part of the property was so covered, their inspections would not be so complete, or if a complete inspection was required, there would be imposed upon them an undue burden. The necessity for making the inspections cover all the property, without regard to the fact of insurance, and the unfairness of attempting to burden the companies with the inspection of property in which they had no interest, led the committee to abandon the first proposal and to provide for such inspection through public authority.

"As a result, the committee recommended and the Legislature enacted into law a provision that every property in the state of Wisconsin within the fire protection limits should be inspected once in three months and a written report made of that inspection. The inspection is required to be made through the chiefs of the fire departments, under the direction of and control of the state fire marshal.

How City Co-operation Is Gained

"Now you might have expected that to arouse big opposition on the ground of expense, but, remarkably, the chiefs of the fire departments generally sup-

ported the recommendation, and they haven't asked for any considerable addition to their force on account of the law. The chiefs of the fire departments generally take the position that it would give them better control over their men and that it would be of the greatest possible value in fighting fires, because of the knowledge of conditions their men would gain.

"Now we have a very simple way of enforcing that law upon the different cities in our state. Our cities receive a fire department tax of two per cent on the premiums. It is paid through the state. If the inspections are not made to the satisfaction of our state fire marshal, these funds are withheld from the fire department. The consequence is that every fire department in the state of Wisconsin is now engaged in making these inspections. A form of report has been agreed upon, and there is perfect co-operation between the fire chiefs and the state fire marshal.

Fire Waste and Insurance Rates

"We found early in our investigation that the problem of fire insurance was connected directly with the problem of reducing fire losses. Fire prevention can be directly aided or hindered by the manner in which the fire insurance rates are made. If the property owner understands that when he improves his property for the removal of fire hazards his insurance rates will be reduced, he has a direct incentive towards good construction, or to the installation of fire preventive devices or improved methods of housekeeping. The fire insurance companies are encouraging this work today through the use of scientific schedules in making their rates. This is to their credit, and merits public support. It is based upon the theory that insurance is indemnity, consisting merely in a fair distribution of the losses of the few upon the many according to the risk in each case. If such distribution is effected, it means that the rate so ascertained must be collected from all persons insured without discrimination.

"I know there is a cry on the part of the average American citizen for liberty of action, a demand that he shall have all the benefits of competition. Large property owners, especially, are prone to insist that any law which limits their

right to buy their insurance at any price they please is an infringement upon their liberties. But if you carry that point of view to its logical conclusion, it only means that the large property owner is able to secure, without the improvement of his business, reductions in rates which should only be granted because the hazard has been bettered.

"I want to plead for support for a system of rate-making in connection with fire prevention which will fairly and equitably distribute upon all property owners their proper proportion of the actual fire loss, with a reasonable and a most economical charge for the transaction of the business." (Applause.)

DANGERS AND DEFECTS IN THE WORKINGS OF AMERICAN DEMOCRACY

Thursday, October 2, the City Club was addressed by Dr. Felix Adler of New York on "Certain Dangers and Defects in the Workings of American Democracy." Thomas W. Allinson presided.

Dr. Adler is professor of social and political ethics at Columbia University, chairman of the National Child-Labor Committee, and a leader of the Ethical Culture movement in America. He founded the New York Society for Ethical Culture and the Ethical Culture School in that city. He has been prominently identified for many years with various movements for the betterment of social and political conditions in New York City. He was a member of the New York Tenement Commission of 1883, and also a member of the Committee of Fifteen, which in 1900 investigated and reported at length on the social evil in New York City. In 1901, he took a prominent part in the municipal campaign which resulted in the defeat of the Tammany organization and the election of Seth Low as mayor. He has written various books and articles on ethical and philosophical subjects, and has made many addresses on social and political reform.

He said:

Dr. Felix Adler

"Five years ago, I was asked to deliver a course of lectures as exchange professor at the University of Berlin. I chose for my subject, 'The Ideals of the American Democracy.' Several of my German colleagues at the university shook their heads and smiled when they

read this announcement, and asked, 'Has, then, the American democracy ideals?'

"In the course of my lectures I spoke of the ideals which had actually dominated our history—the ideals of the Puritans, of the men who made the Revolution, the ideals that prevailed in the time when the constitution was born, the ideals of the Civil War. Then I ventured to take a flight into the distance, and to sketch what might be the ideals of the future. On one point I laid especial stress—namely, that America must not be judged solely by its performances. Democracy has not yet arrived at the achievement of its task. It is too early to say whether democracy has failed, because it has never as yet been fully tried.

Democracy's Success Not Assured

"I make these remarks because I am about to criticise certain defects and point out certain dangers in the working of our institutions, and I wish you to understand beforehand and to keep in mind throughout that my faith in the future of American democracy is unimpaired. Not that I have any fatalistic assurance that we are bound to come out right because of the intelligence and honesty of our people. I believe a good deal of that sort of talk is buncombe. My faith is that we shall come out right *if we so decide*. As trustees of the great experiment of popular government we must have the sense of our responsibilities and the intelligence to be equal to them.

"The particular defect of American democracy to which I wish to refer today is the disposition to disparage the representative function. There is a

growing depreciation of the importance of the legislative branch of our government. Now, to my mind, the heart of democracy is in the legislative function, and if it fails at that point, I fear it will fail altogether.

"Such is the danger; and the reason is not far to seek. The reason is that democracy, on its legislative side, has, on the whole, not worked very well. Distrust of the representative system would not exist if there were not ample cause for dissatisfaction.

The Attack on the "Boss"

"Now, how is this dissatisfaction to be overcome? One of the favorite remedies proposed is the attack on the boss. It is a well-known fact that an executive officer, if he is a man of exceptional strength and integrity, may free himself to some extent from the trammels of party and boss dictation by appealing, over the heads of the party machine, to the people themselves. At present, in our own state of New York, we are witnessing a somewhat injudicious and unfortunate example of such an attempt on the part of an executive to free himself from the domination of party machinery.

"The executive can, to some extent, represent the people. Hence one of the tendencies of American politics is to exalt the executive, and to put a perhaps excessive reliance on him. But we all know that the Legislature—a majority of its members, at least—is very largely dominated by the bosses and for the bosses.

Ineffectiveness of This Attack

"One of the favorite remedies for this situation is the abolition of the boss. At present, Mr. Mitchell, the candidate of the Fusion party—of which I am a member—for mayor of New York, is directing the indignation of the people against the boss. This method of reform ought to receive the consideration and the scrutiny of thoughtful people. I am not very hopeful of its results, however, because I have seen too many of these bosses abolished, only to reappear in their successors. Having been in touch with the politics of the city of New York for the last thirty-seven years, I could point you out a string of bosses, like the kings in Macbeth, each making way for

his successor to be enthroned; and today the power of Charles Murphy is said by those who ought to know to be firmer than that of any of his predecessors.

"One of the reasons why I am not very enthusiastic in the present campaign is precisely because I took part in the defeat of Tammany Hall at the time of the election of my friend, Seth Low. As the leader of the Ethical Society, it is my function to perform marriage ceremonies. I do not object at all to second marriages, but parties whom I have married once always seem to feel a certain delicacy about asking me to perform the second ceremony. Still more is this true in regard to funerals. When you have buried a man and somehow he resurrects, you feel a sense of impropriety in pronouncing the funeral sermon a second time. It is this sentiment that has led me to refrain from taking an active part in the campaign against Tammany this year.

"Why are the people asked to hate the boss? I am quite confused in regard to my hatred. I used to hate Tweed. Then I forgot Tweed and hated Kelly. Later I was told I must hate Richard Croker, and now I must hate Charles Murphy. The fund of hatred at one's disposal is really too limited for such continuous demands upon it.

"Why is it that American men of ability are repeatedly undertaking this fool's errand of suppressing the boss, with no result save to make way for his successor? It is because the people want a scapegoat. After they have punished the visible personality that stands for the system, they go about their business, satisfied that they have conquered the evil.

The Conflict of Public and Private Interest

"But this evil is much more deep-seated than the superficial editorial writer would have us believe. John C. Calhoun—a real political philosopher, one of the few great political thinkers that America has produced—put his finger on the vulnerable point when he said that the delegation of power constitutes the great problem of politics. How can power be so delegated that the agent shall not be unfaithful to his principal? The assumption is that the legislator, the representative of the people, must be actuated purely by the public interest, al-

though there are many and tempting opportunities for him to secure his private interest at the expense of the public. How can you bring it about, that the representative of the general welfare shall purge himself of his private interest? Calhoun's whole political theory revolves around that problem.

"Now, when you say 'boss,' you must remember that that particularly bad man is not alone to blame. You are dealing with this fundamental difficulty, that you are asking certain men, usually not of the very highest type—men actuated by all the ordinary human motives, the baser as well as the better—to be greater than you yourselves are. You are not purging yourself of your private interest to serve the public only, but you put men in places where they cannot otherwise serve their private interests, and ask them to be the pure instruments of the public welfare. We have found in practice that we do not get men of this type except in the highest offices. There is today, as there has always been, a leaven of fineness in all our Legislatures; but on the whole there is not enough of it. And the evils of what may be called embezzling the deposits of the public interest have grown to monstrous proportions.

"Against this we are witnessing a reaction. The people are becoming distrustful of their agents. Dimly they realize the difficulty of securing the expurgation of private interests from public service. They rush to the other extreme, and say that the people themselves, as far as possible, shall legislate; the Legislature shall be reduced to as few and as short sessions as possible, and many of the tasks that have hitherto been entrusted to these agents shall now be taken over by the mass. We have been impaled on one horn of the dilemma, and are about to wound ourselves in somewhat sharp contact with the other.

The Distraction of "Mass" Government

"If the evil on the one side is the unfaithfulness of the agents of the public, the evil on the side of the direct action by the masses is distraction. Psychologists tell us that the power of attention is strictly limited in the individual; and so it is in the mass of people. The business of government is too multiform,

too complex. There are too many voices crying. The public is pulled in one direction after another, like a donkey, by its long ears. Between all the appeals to our sympathy and action as a people we become distracted.

"Permit me for a moment to tell you of my own experience during the last year. When the Triangle shirtwaist factory fire occurred, in which 141 lives were lost, I was asked to speak at a public meeting and to aid in securing a fire prevention law. Seeking to do what I could, I very soon found that fire prevention is largely technical, involving many difficult questions to which a mere layman cannot do justice. The public, however, was eager that something should be done. A fire prevention committee was formed. While this committee was investigating, the horror of that factory fire and of the sacrifice of the poor girls whose lives had been lost there faded from the public mind. The headlines in the newspapers became smaller, and finally the words 'Triangle Shirtwaist Factory Fire' appeared only in an obscure corner of the paper; the Rosenthal murder, or something else, came up for attention.

"Then I was asked to speak at a public mass meeting to protest against the situation revealed by the Rosenthal murder, and to suggest remedies. I had been connected with the Committee of Fifteen in New York, and had known something of the work of the police department in their dealings with the cadets. I knew just enough to realize how huge the police problem is. I felt that I ought to go abroad for a year and study the police situation in European cities—London, Berlin and elsewhere—before I could speak intelligently on the subject. The mass meeting, however, was to take place in two days from the time when I received the invitation. People were in a hurry to know what to do.

"Presently the political situation came along. The Progressive Party was formed. Should I join it, or should I assist Mr. Wilson? Questions of principle were involved.

"Then came the subway question—again a highly technical issue. Was Mr. Mitchell right, was Mr. McAneny right, or was the late Mayor Gaynor right?

"All these problems have had to be

acted upon within the last twelve months; and one might also mention several subsidiary questions which, like other good citizens, one was asked to consider.

"Mass" Government Unworkable

"Do you, citizens of Chicago, possess the wisdom and the information necessary to deal justly and adequately with all these questions? I cannot believe so. This is an assembly of men who have had superior advantages. We have had college training; perhaps, it has been our business to be reflective. Yet who of us could undertake to respond, with any degree of satisfaction to himself, to all the public demands which are made upon us in the course of a few months?"

"Now consider what the situation would be if the whole government of this country were to be managed by the mass of us. It would be unworkable. It is only proposed because some of the people who are very much agitated about a few reforms do not see the others. They believe that by the system of direct legislation the particular reforms which they have at heart may be promoted. One of my experiences is that reformers, in pushing their own reforms, are often in the way of other things that are more important. There can be no provision at all, in the system of mass legislation, for any just balancing of the things that require immediate attention.

"The principal point that I want to submit to you today is that, while the boss system has grown out of the difficulty inherent in the delegation of power—the difficulty of purifying the individual of his private interest—the system of direct action by the mass, which we are now asked to try, is embarrassed with a still greater evil—the evil of a distracted state of public opinion, and of the browbeating of the mass of the citizens by the most active and intemperate reformers.

Representative System Needs Remodeling

"What would be the way out? With every warning to you not to take my hobby too seriously, and with the full admission that it is somewhat wooden and hasn't yet been tried, I venture to submit my own suggestion. The people should give attention to the *remodeling* of the representative system, instead of

abandoning it and either leaving the boss in power or throwing the whole burden of government upon the multitude. America is the only advanced country that I know of in which thoughtful people are not trying to beat out this problem. In France, a friend of mine, Ferdinand Buisson, a member of the Chamber of Deputies, tells me that there is no question so prominently before the French democracy as that of a change in the method of representation. They think that proportional representation will remedy many of the present political evils that beset them. In London, the late Lord Avebury (better known under his former title of Sir John Lubbock) was the head of a similar movement. In Württemberg such a system has been introduced, and an analogous one in Switzerland also. In Oregon it was proposed at the last election to change the method of representation in this way; but, with the exception of Oregon, I know of no state in the Union in which the thoughtful people have as yet realized that there is a third alternative—that we are not shut up to the choice between boss government and the distraction of multitudinous government.

Identifying Public and Private Interest

The desiderata of a representative government are, not that we should get public servants who are so utterly disinterested that they neglect their private interests, but, first, that there should be worked out a system of representation, so arranged that the personal interest of of the representative is identical with that of his constituents; and, second, that the constituency should be of such a character as to be able to exercise continued surveillance over his acts, and should have the greatest motive to do so.

Vocational Representation Suggested

"These conditions of a right representative system, I believe (and this is the hobby of which I spoke) would be met if we had *vocational* representation in the lower houses of our legislative bodies; that is, if the lower house of our Legislatures consisted of representatives chosen by the merchants as merchants, by the manufacturers as manufacturers, by the laborers as laborers, by the scientific people as scientific people, and so on. The Senate should be chosen

at large, to act as the balance wheel. This system of representation would bring forward the various organic, functional interests that are represented in society. It would not be class representation, because classes are founded on privilege.

"Suppose the merchants of Chicago, instead of voting in geographical districts, should vote in merchant comitia. Suppose they collected in some great merchants' central hall and elected some of their own number to the state Legislature. The interest of the representative would be the same as that of his constituency. They would send him there in order that he might represent the common interests of the merchant group, to which he belongs. The measures which they wished him to stand for would be considered among themselves. The constituency would influence the measures proposed, and would be able to exercise constant surveillance over their representative. The result would be that the best men in the community would sit in your Legislature; for no man could covet a greater honor than to be selected as the representative member of the vocation to which he belongs.

"Some one to whom I have mentioned this scheme has said, 'It would be lobbying.' My reply is that it would; but it would be lobbying in the open—and that is just what we want. The general good is not a cross-section of the community; it does not consist simply of the good of each and all alike; it is, rather, the harmonizing of different goods—of the interests of the various groups of which society is composed.

Representative System Should Be Conserved

"I have perhaps said enough to give you a general idea of the trend of my thought. I do not wish to propose the immediate adoption of this system. I do

not come here to impose my hobby upon you. I merely use this argument to strengthen my main thesis, that we have been blind in supposing that we have to choose between boss government and mass government; that it is possible for the state to retain the representative system, and highly desirable that it should do, because that system means getting the best men in each group to represent that group, and consequently to represent, so far, the public interest.

"Under the conditions which exist the boss is a necessary evil. We must get to the root of the forces that created him in order to eliminate him. We must, on the other hand, foresee the evils which will come when these good friends of ours have thrown legislation into the hands of the indiscriminate multitude. As thoughtful persons, we must look ahead and consider the alternative possibilities of that representative system in which democracy's heart beats.

"There have been all sorts of definitions of democracy. The definition that satisfies me best can be put forward in contradistinction to that of monarchy and aristocracy. A monarchy, from the ideal point of view, is the form of government in which the wisdom of one man is supposed to suffice to secure the good of all. It has not sufficed. An aristocracy is that form of government in which the wisdom of a few men is supposed to suffice to secure the good of all. In Venice, in England, for a time, aristocracy bore noble fruit; but, in the long run, it did not suffice. The human race, in the persons of such men as ourselves, is now trying a third form: democracy. What does that mean? A general scramble, with conditions so arranged that anybody can get rich? I hope not. It means a form of government in which the wisdom of each shall be invoked to secure the good of all." (Applause.)



HISTORICAL PAGEANTS IN AMERICA

On Monday, September 29, William C. Langdon, president of the American Pageant Association, addressed the City Club on "Historical Pageants in America." Mr. Langdon's own work as a pageant-dramatist now covers four pageants; the pageant of Thetford, Vermont, 1911, the interest in which centered in a creative dramatization of the problem of farming in the new country life; the pageant of St. Johnsbury, Vermont, 1912, which dealt in a similar way with the responsibilities of a metropolis in the new country life; the pageant of Meriden, New Hampshire, 1913, which dealt with education in the new country life; and the pageant of Darien, Connecticut, also 1913, which was a pageant of a residential community, and showed forth the drama there lies in a commuters' town.* Mr. Langdon was also assistant director of the Philadelphia Historical Pageant of 1912, in which some 5,000 or 6,000 people took part.

Mr. Langdon's address consisted mainly of the explanation of slides illustrating these pageants. His introductory remarks, explaining the pageant idea and setting forth the civic and artistic value of pageants, are printed herewith.

Mr. Stephen T. Mather, who presided, introduced Mr. Langdon, as follows:

MR. MATHER: "It gives me unusual pleasure today to have an opportunity of introducing Mr. Langdon. I came only two or three weeks ago from my old ancestral town in Connecticut, a little town by the name of Darien, where Mr. Langdon has just produced his last pageant. Now, to me the pageant idea was a very vague one and I never dreamed, until I went to Darien this summer, that I could be persuaded to parade back and forth in public on three or four different days in a continental costume with knee breeches. But when I saw the breadth of the idea of this pageant, I realized what a wonderful undertaking it was and its tremendous civic value. The community spirit in that little old colonial town has been wonderfully de-

veloped. The town has become acquainted with itself as never before. I have been spending my summers there for several years and I must say that through this pageant I met many times the number of persons I had met on previous visits. It has brought together all elements of the population. They are more interested in the town and are working together for its good as they never have done before.

"Mr. Langdon came to Darien with his family three or four months before the pageant, lived there and absorbed the history of the town. Then he wrote his pageant in a series of episodes, depicting the life of the town from its early colonial days.

"Mr. Langdon was for a number of years connected with the Russell Sage Foundation under Dr. Gulick, who did such remarkable work in connection with the boy scouts and the campfire girls. Mr. Langdon had seen the possibilities in the pageant idea while in this work and for two years he conducted pageants in various towns at the expense of the Russell Sage Foundation. Last October he began on his own account and has made it practically his profession. Mr. Langdon has had a very strong supporter in Mrs. Langdon, who has handled the entire costuming of the pageants, having made a study of the costuming of the various periods of the seventeenth, eighteenth and nineteenth centuries.

"It gives me great pleasure to introduce Mr. Langdon to you this afternoon." (Applause.)

William C. Langdon

Time who doth bind men with his chain of
years,
Fate who doth make all life to bloom and
close,
Death who doth reap for time and fate:
these three
Wage war against the starry crown of song,
And stand in dreaded league with drawn
swords
Before the garden where the Rose of Art
Like a blown flame, hath being and delight.
But here behold a miracle; Time sleeps;
Fate nods; and Death hath had his will. To-
night
The centuries, like pages of a book,
Turn backward, and the Rose of Art doth
breathe

*The complete drama of these pageants can be obtained by writing to the secretary of the Pageant Committee of these towns, enclosing 30 cents in stamps.

With a new perfume, springtides long forgot.

Behold, the world awakes again from sleep
And the long darkness of the Middle Age
Doth break and flee before the coming dawn.

"These opening words of the pageant of the Italian Renaissance, written by Mr. Thomas Wood Stevens and produced at the Art Institute, Chicago, are the finest epitome I know of the pageant idea. To me, Chicago, having produced that pageant, has been the place where 'the Rose of Art hath being and delight,' and, coming to Chicago for the first time, my first concern this morning was to arrange to visit the place where the scenes of that pageant were enacted.

"The community spirit I believe to be more active in this country than anywhere else in the world and more active now than at any time since history began. The combination of a strong, active community spirit with great dramatic originality has produced all through America a tendency to seize on the possibilities of the pageant-drama.

What a Pageant Is

"First, I want to define what I mean by the word pageant. Here are a few of the things that I have heard called pageants: the Greek drama, Coney Island, Mardi Gras, kindergarten plays in the corner of the school room, street processions, dance allegories.

"The first of the modern pageants was in June, 1905, at Sherborne, England. Sherborne School had its 1200th birthday and asked a former master of music—and, I believe, also, a former student—Louis M. Parker, the playwright of 'Disraeli' and 'Pomander Walk,' to help get up a celebration. So Mr. Parker devised a celebration which showed in a series of dramatic episodes something of the history of Sherborne School and of Sherborne town. He first, with a mind to correct definition, called this a Folk Play, but as that did not appeal to the imagination and people did not buy as many advance tickets as had been expected, he looked for a word with greater advertising value and found one—a very beautiful old word, with picturesque and splendid associations, the word 'pageant.' So the celebration was called the 'Pageant of Sherborne,' and that is all the

connection there is between the modern and the medieval pageant.

"In this country when dramatic activities of a somewhat similar character became spontaneous and frequent, people were in the same difficulty for a name. They have said to me frequently, 'We would not presume to call this a play, but it was very beautiful and it was out of doors and we had a large number of people taking part.' Perhaps they had heard something about something in England called a 'pageant,' and as that was a pleasing word, they took it.

"Now, let me then define what I mean by the word 'pageant.' *The pageant is a drama—if it is not drama it is not a pageant—in which the place is the hero and the development of the community is the plot.*

Community Drama

"In general, before June, 1905, all the drama in the world was individual drama. A man or a woman was the hero, his or her life drama—tragic or comic—constituted the plot, and in the end the hero either died or lived happily ever after—or unhappily in the modern drama. It concerned the individual life, just as a great deal of our historic religion has concerned itself with the salvation of the individual soul and has cared but little about the community. But now comes a community drama, just as we are getting a community emphasis in religion. We are coming to realize that a community has a personality, that it has a life and a dramatic development that is thrilling and inspiring and wonderful.

"One whom we all follow has said that the drama is the holding of the mirror up to nature. So in the pageant, which holds the mirror up to the life of the community. Only insofar as there is real progress and a magnificent and dramatic up-sweep in the life of that community, will the show be worth seeing.

"The technique of the pageant drama is almost entirely different from that of the individual drama. I have found sometimes that persons connected with the drama of the theater cannot comprehend what the pageant drama is striving to do, how it is striving to do it and why. It may even seem to them, very naturally, nonsense.

Should Be Given Outdoors

"The outdoor presentation of the pageant with the parts taken by the people of the town is fundamental. You cannot give a real pageant indoors. The place is the hero and the town is the stage. When you take a pageant indoors, you debar the hero from the stage. Indoors is the locus of man's private life. 'A man's home is his castle.' If you are going to reflect dramatically the community life, the proper place is out of doors where the community life grows and broadens, not indoors where it is an intruder.

Encouraging Native Art

"In the early days, people came over here from Europe into rough conditions of life; conditions that compelled the most arduous labor and the most unceasing struggle. Only when the pioneers began to master their environment did there come a little leisure and opportunity to put a little spiritual quality and culture into their life. The cultural life

was dominated in the early days by the preachers and the teachers and consisted primarily of Latin and the Old Testament. Since then, culture has broadened, but to the present day, almost entirely. America is dependent upon a borrowed culture. We do not look for our joy in our own life and work, but must have French painting, German music and so on. We borrow and hang our heads, feeling that American life has not in it the quality to produce and express its own joy. I have high hopes that the pageant drama will help to cultivate in America a more self-reliant attitude in matters of artistic expression and a fuller appreciation of the possibilities of a native drama."

Mr. Langdon concluded his address by showing lantern slides of various pageants, both English and American, but chiefly the latter, at the same time commenting on them informally, pointing out significant features and relating incidents and anecdotes that occurred in the course of the pageant work.





The City Club Bulletin

Published by the CITY CLUB OF CHICAGO, 315 Plymouth Court
DWIGHT L. AKERS, Editor

VOLUME VI

SATURDAY, NOVEMBER 29, 1913

NUMBER 14

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ADMINISTRATION OF THE UNITED STATES IMMIGRATION LAWS

Mr. Louis F. Post, Assistant Secretary of the Department of Labor, addressed the City Club Monday, October 27, on the "Administration of the United States Immigration Laws." Judge Joseph Z. Uhler presided.

Louis F. Post

"The immigration laws of the United States are essentially exclusion laws. They are a natural evolution from that world-old and world-wide feeling that the stranger is an inferior. I recall having seen years ago in London Punch—which sometimes contains a witty thing and occasionally a funny one—a picture that I think illustrates this feeling. The picture showed two London navvies. One of them, noticing across the street another man, a fellow citizen of the world, said to his companion: 'See that Scotchman beyond there. Let's 'eave a brick at 'im.' His companion replied: 'E's not a Scotchman, 'e's a Yorkshire lad.' 'Well, then,' returned the other, 'let's 'eave 'alf a brick at 'im.'

"I am not here, however, to criticise the immigration exclusion laws, but to state to you briefly what they are and to explain the method of their administration.

Exclusion of Asiatic Races

"Let us look at our exclusion laws relating to the Chinese. We consider the Chinaman an inferior; he thinks of us in

the same way. We have laws forbidding him to enter this country except under certain conditions and in certain ways. The Chinese laborer must not come in at all; the Chinese merchant may come in under certain conditions; the traveling Chinaman may pass through; the student Chinaman may come here long enough to find out what kind of civilization ours is—as it is revealed beyond the port of entry.

"In the same spirit, Japanese immigration is restricted—not by legislation, however, but by presidential proclamation, authorized by an act of Congress.

"There is also a strong demand in certain parts of the country for the exclusion of the Hindu. There is neither law nor presidential proclamation for that, but the Hindu is kept out nevertheless in very large numbers as being what is called 'L. P. C.'—likely to become a public charge.

Domiciled 'Aliens' Subject to Law

"Under our immigration laws 'any alien' who comes to this country having certain defects or disabilities must be excluded. Originally, as I understand it, the law referred to any 'immigrant' coming with the specified disabilities; and, in consequence of that reading, aliens already domiciled in this country and returning from abroad were not considered subject to the law. I don't know

by what influence the change was made, but in a revision of the immigration laws the word 'alien' appears to have been substituted for the word 'immigrant,' so that now any person residing in this country but born abroad and not naturalized—no matter how long he may have lived here, no matter how complete his connections with the life of this country may be, short of naturalization—may, if he leaves the country and returns, be excluded for any of the disabilities mentioned in the law.*

"Just to impress this upon you, let me tell you of a case that came under my observation. It was that of a German domiciled in Pennsylvania. He had come over here originally twenty-five years ago, had a small property in Pennsylvania and had raised a family in that state. He felt after his long stay that he could afford a visit to the old country, and he went back. When he returned to this country, he was asked at Ellis Island, among other questions, whether he had ever committed a crime involving moral turpitude. He admitted that thirty years before—five years before he first came to this country—he had committed petty larceny and had served a short term of imprisonment for it. He had lived an upright life here for twenty-five years; all his business and family connections were in this country; yet the immigration board at Ellis Island ordered his deportation as being within the exclusion clause of the immigration law—and under the law they were right. They had no discretion in the matter. The man had committed a crime involving moral turpitude and his exclusion was therefore strictly in accordance with the law—at any rate with the practice. That case came up on appeal and as Acting Secretary I admitted the man. His admission, however, was due to the strong arm of a benevolent autocrat. Had the autocrat been unbenevolent, the alien would have had no redress.

*There is some question as to this, the phrasing of the statute not having been altered in every section. But since its alteration in some sections the practice has been to treat all aliens alike, whether domiciled aliens or immigrants, when they come here from abroad.—L. F. P.

Exclusion for Mental or Physical Defects

"The immigration law provides that any alien with certain mental defects must be excluded; and there is no power in the United States, under the present law, to admit any alien under any circumstances whatever, if he is certified by the medical board officer at the port of entry to have a mental defect.

"Aliens having physical defects that may affect their ability to earn a living are also excluded. If the medical officer certifies to such a defect in the case of any alien asking admittance to this country, the board at the port of entry must exclude that alien. While he can appeal to the Secretary of Labor, who has discretion in such cases to admit under bond, the Secretary is making a distinction not specified in the law but necessary to prevent abuses of the discretionary powers given him by Congress. He admits no one under such circumstances unless his return would involve some undue hardship. Not simply a hardship, for all exclusions involve that, but an *undue* hardship. In the latter case he is admitted under bond not to become a public charge.

Offenses Involving Moral Turpitude

"Anyone who has practiced polygamy, no matter if he has renounced it, or anyone who believes in it, even though he may not practice it, is excludable.

"Prostitution, profiting by prostitution, or in any way assisting in prostitution, are offenses for which aliens may be excluded. In that class of cases, the law has been so strictly observed that in a case where benevolent assistance had been extended to a prostitute by an alien the question was seriously raised whether such assistance did not bring the assistor within the purview of the law. Only because there happened to be an official with brains in his head to decide that case was the benevolent assistor not deported along with the prostitute.

"Then comes the anarchist. What is an anarchist? Nobody knows. I know a lot of anarchists and not one of them can define an anarchist so that the definition would fit any of the rest of them. But anarchists are excluded.

"Aliens convicted of a crime or any other offense involving moral turpitude,

are also subject to exclusion. All political offenders, however, are excepted, provided their offenses are purely political—which is going a long distance—and do not involve moral turpitude. Now I don't know, but I should think that most lawyers would say that if the question were ever raised, in a case of homicide for instance, no alien would fall within that definition of a political offender unless his offense was committed under circumstances that would justify any nation, under the law of nations, in recognizing a state of belligerency.

The Contract Labor Exclusion Law

"Then we have the contract labor exclusion law. There was a time when the big employers in Pennsylvania who owned the natural resources of the state, found that the 'low Irish,' as they once called them—the naturalized Irish immigrants—were getting to be a little independent and were going on strike from time to time. Those employers then began to contract for other kinds of foreign labor, and this went on until the labor sentiment against it became so strong that a law was secured from Congress forbidding the importation of labor under contract. This law is so narrowly enforced under the established practice that if I secured an alien friend abroad a position in the shop where I am working, and the facts became known, that friend would be excluded. It might not be safe to let him in, because were we to admit in such cases, we might soon have a gigantic conspiracy to import men under contract in precisely the same way.

"I imagine that the basis of our exclusion law, so far as labor is concerned, is the general sentiment among working people that jobs are scarce—anyone who tries to get one will find them so. I am not talking of political jobs, either—they are scarce, we all know—but the ordinary laboring jobs, the ordinary sweat-of-the-face jobs—they, too, are scarce. If you had to live by getting employment from other men, and you found aliens coming into this country by the thousands every week and entering the labor market eager to get your job, by which you keep your family from starving, you,

too, would be radical against indiscriminate immigration. The question would go straight home to you. When you found your family likely to suffer because some alien was going to take your job you would be willing to heave not only half a brick but a whole brick or a whole ton of bricks at him to keep him out. If the American laboring man were once to realize that the immigrant who really does him harm is the fellow who seizes upon the resources of the country and monopolizes them, if he once got his eyes turned to the privileged classes and away a little while from aliens of his own class, who come over here to better their condition in life, we should have better exclusion laws than we have now—laws, perhaps, that instead of excluding labor would exclude privilege.

• Expulsion of Aliens

"Not only do we exclude, but we expel. At any time within three years after an alien has come to this country he can be expelled, if it be proved to the satisfaction of the immigration authorities that when he came in he had defects which should have excluded him. If it is found, for instance, that he had been guilty of some crime, or had some mental or physical defect which had resulted in his becoming a public charge, a warrant is issued and he is tried, with less than the formality of a drumhead court martial, and deported. Suppose a workman, a good mechanic, a man who is not likely to become a public charge, comes to this country, bringing his wife, who is pregnant when she enters the country. Some accident happens to him weeks after he comes in and his wife is left penniless. She has to go to an almshouse to have her child born. The cause of her thus becoming a public charge existed before her arrival—she was pregnant when she arrived. So she must be deported. In an actual case of this sort I raised a question as to the child. I said, 'I hesitate to put my signature to a warrant that is going to send that American citizen out of this country.' It was argued, on the other hand, that this woman would be better off in her home country, with her own people, and the child could in due time decide

whether it wished to avail itself of the rights of an American citizen, under the law. The argument was fair and reasonable. But what about such a law?

How the Law Is Administered

"Now let me give you the *modus operandi* of the law. Cabin passengers are visited by inspectors in their cabins. Steerage passengers are bundled off to Ellis Island in great numbers. A few Sundays ago, when I was over there, 5,000 persons came in on that one day. Nearly all were discharged before the end of the day. Only about one per cent are held by the year's average. Passengers, either in the cabin or in the steerage, who are found to be open to any objections, are sent to a receiving room by themselves. The immigrants come pouring in from the boat. As they enter, a medical officer meets them. If he sees nothing the matter he passes them along. If he sees one that has a bad look, something that signifies impoverishment or disease, he puts a chalk mark on the man's coat or the woman's gown. They are then passed along to several other doctors in turn, and finally they are examined by an inspector with the ship's manifest before him. They have disclosed their whole lives on that manifest before they are allowed to sail. The inspector sizes them up, and if he sees nothing the matter, they are given a free passage to New York.

The Hearing of Exclusion Cases

"The others are detained for a special inquiry. This is held in a little room that looks like a police court. Three inspectors conduct it, not lawyers, but expert immigrant inspectors, sitting as a court. The alien is brought before them alone; no friends, no lawyers are permitted to be present—it is a private examination. He is questioned to find out whether he comes within any of the specifications of the law. If found not to be subject to the law, he is discharged and that is the end of it. The President himself cannot stop him or bring him back. The board of three is the absolute arbiter. There is no overruling of their judgment, unless subsequently we run down a case where the conditions warrant expulsion in contradistinction to exclusion.

"But suppose the board for some reason holds the alien. It is then entered upon the record that 'it is the unanimous decision of the board' or 'the opinion of two of the board'—and that controls—that the person is likely to become a public charge,' has a loathsome contagious disease, or is subject to some other disqualification mentioned in the law. On that record the alien is detained further. After the trial is over and the record is made, the alien is notified that he may now have a lawyer if he wishes, and that he may appeal to the Secretary of Labor from the decision of the board.

Appeals

"If he enters an appeal, the record—taken from the stenographer's report—is forwarded to the Commissioner General of Immigration at Washington. There it is abstracted so that at a glance the Secretary of Labor may know what is before him and whether it is worth while to go into the details of the case or not. At the end of the abstract, the Commissioner General or his subordinates may recommend that the appeal be dismissed or that it be sustained. That recommendation, with the record, then goes to the Secretary of Labor. If the Secretary of Labor were to handle all these records, he wouldn't have time for anything else. So his deputy is charged with that work, and that is the interesting job in which as Assistant Secretary of Labor I find myself employed. My decision is absolutely conclusive—there is no appeal from it. Of course, if the alien has friends of influence, they may slip into the Secretary's office and say, 'That Assistant Secretary of yours is a muddlehead; he doesn't know how to handle his business and you had better take this case away from him.' In that event, if the Secretary wished to, he could take the record and overrule me. I haven't had that experience yet and have no reason to suppose I ever shall have; but, of course, I consult the Secretary in reference to novel cases or new questions of general policy, and am guided by his instructions or advice.

"If the alien were able to influence public opinion, so as to arouse people all over the country to demand his admission, he or his friends might go over

the head, not only of the Assistant Secretary to the Secretary, but over the head of the Secretary to the President of the United States. The President, of course, wouldn't have any legal power in the matter, but he does have the power of appointment and removal of secretaries and assistant secretaries and the like, which in some circumstances might be a factor. I do not know, however, of any case which has reached the President. I am calling attention to this point, just to show you what might be done. If the Assistant Secretary is not disturbed by instructions, his decision in any case is final; there is nothing left for that alien to do, if the decision is adverse, but to go back to Europe or Asia. If it is favorable, he enters this country with modified rights of residence. The courts have no control in these matters, if there is any evidence at all in the case before the Department of Labor.

Courts Without Jurisdiction

"Let me tell you about that: A Chinaman, born in San Francisco, an American citizen under the Fourteenth Amendment to the Constitution, thought he would like to visit the flowery land of his fathers. He went back to China and returned to San Francisco, where the immigration bureau stopped him as a Chinaman. He appeared to be within the Chinese exclusion law; the *prima facie* proof was on his face. The board entered into an investigation in that lonely chamber of theirs, where no one—not even a lawyer for the defendant—is admitted; and after going over the evidence and giving him every opportunity to prove his case—except the opportunity to cross-examine, if he wanted it, and to compel attendance of witnesses, and that they have no power to give—they decided that he was not a citizen of the United States and must be deported. His friends carried the case to the Federal court. The Federal judge referred the case to a master to take testimony and report his opinion. The master reported that the man had proven that he was born in the city of San Francisco and was therefore an American citizen under the Fourteenth Amendment to the Constitution. The judge reviewed the testimony and the master's opinion, sus-

tained the master and discharged the alleged alien. The government took the case to the Supreme Court. The Supreme Court held, first, that any country has a right to exclude aliens for any reason. That is true, of course. They also held that we have the right to establish administrative tribunals for the purpose of ascertaining whether aliens come within the exclusion clauses of the immigration laws. That is also true, for the admission of an alien is not a judicial question, but a congressional and administrative question. What then was the argument for this Chinese-American? The argument was that American citizenship is a substantial right, as substantial and sacred as property rights, and that Congress had no power to turn over a question so fundamental, a judicial question at that, to a bureau under administrative process in a star-chamber proceeding and subject to *ex parte* testimony. That argument, however, did not convince the Supreme Court—not in this Chinese-American case at any rate. I will not go so far as to say that the citizenship of *all* persons born in the United States could be tried in that way, without the interference of the courts; but I will go so far as to say that, as matter of precedent, no American citizen of Chinese lineage can insist upon his American citizenship being tried in the judicial tribunals of the country, as long as the administrative tribunal finds any evidence at all against his citizenship. The decision of the board is final in Chinese cases and the only recourse is an appeal to the Secretary of Labor. What would be the difference in principle if it were not a Chinese case?

The Process of Expulsion

"Now, let me explain the process of expulsion. Suppose a man comes through the immigration office in the way I have indicated, when, according to the law, he ought to have been excluded. If within three years this fact is detected, a warrant is issued by the Secretary of Labor, or by his deputy, the Acting Secretary. That warrant is issued upon proof, *ex parte* proof, of course, just as a justice of the peace issues a warrant to arrest a man to determine whether he shall be held to the grand jury or not.

If the charge is immorality, it makes no difference whether the offense was committed before entry or not, nor how long the offender has been here. For instance, I have issued a warrant for the deportation of a Chinaman from Chicago for an offense committed in Des Moines, and that Chinaman had been in this country thirty-seven years. In a restaurant he kept he conducted his business in a way that was not permitted by the morality clauses of the deportation law. If he had been an American, he could have continued in his business indefinitely as far as the Department at Washington is concerned. I sometimes wonder if, in the execution of that part of the law, we are not applying the principle of tariff protection to the American industry of prostitution. I cannot, for the life of me, see any very good reason why the United States government should go into a town that is willing to have prostitutional establishments and pick out the aliens that are carrying on these establishments and deport them. About the only purpose this can serve is to protect the local business among Americans from alien competition.

"Now, when the warrant of arrest for deportation is issued, it runs all over the United States from Canada to the Gulf and from ocean to ocean, down to Porto Rico, over to the Philippines, up into Alaska, wherever the United States has jurisdiction—and the person whom it is desired to expel, man or woman, is arrested and put in jail, although bail is allowed, pending a hearing before the local immigrant inspector. I know of no better way to explain the process of expulsion than to tell you about a typical case—one entirely regular according to the law.

"A certain workingman, an alien, had invested his little earnings in what he called a 'stag lodging-house' for poor people. He had a house that accommodated forty or fifty people, mostly transients. He got into a quarrel with some friends, who thereupon told the immigration inspector that this man was keeping a house of prostitution. They made ex parte affidavits to that effect.

"The case came to me for a warrant of arrest. I do not remember issuing the warrant. I issue so many warrants al-

most every day that I couldn't possibly make a personal investigation of each. The necessities of the situation remind me of the story told of Lyman J. Gage, when he became Secretary of the Treasury. He had a great many documents to sign every day which he knew nothing about. This bothered him a good deal, and he muttered to himself with each document he didn't understand, 'I don't understand, I don't understand.' The negro messenger, who was taking the papers and blotting them as the Secretary signed them, heard him say this, and putting his finger on the place for the signature, he said: 'Mr. Secretary, you don't have to understand; all you have to do is sign your name right there.' I suppose I signed this Kansas City warrant under some such circumstances. At any rate, I knew nothing of it until the record came back to me, and this is what the record showed:

"The warrant of arrest had been executed, the man had been arrested, he had been taken away from his business and put into jail. The inspector examined him. In the examination he told what seemed to me to be a straight story, that this was a legitimate house, a poor people's house, to be sure, but, as far as he knew, it was straight. At that point in the examination he was notified that he could now have a lawyer. The lawyer whom he employed had evidently been through the mill, and knew that the witnesses could not be brought back for cross-examination. So he got up a letter intended to read like a subpoena: 'Dear Sir,' it read, 'You are hereby commanded to be at such and such a place at such and such a time,' etc., etc., etc. Then he signed the letter as 'Attorney.' Two of the witnesses came. He put one of them on the stand and began to ask him questions. The inspector very properly, according to the law, interfered and said: 'I think it is my duty to advise the witness that he need not answer your questions; the law does not require it. If he wishes to answer your questions, I will swear him as your witness and allow him to answer and put his answers in the record.' He then asked the witness, 'Do you wish to answer this lawyer's questions?' The witness said 'No.' The lawyer asked 'Why?' The inspector

told the witness he was not bound to answer and he concluded he would not. Then the lawyer brought in two or three witnesses who didn't know much about the case one way or the other, but who simply had never heard that this lodging-house was anything but a respectable house, although it might have been doing an illegitimate business without their knowledge. With that testimony, the record came back with a recommendation that the man be deported. He had lived in this country eight years, he had not become naturalized, and he was subject to deportation. This will give you a notion of how this law could work.

System Is Too Arbitrary

"I don't wish to be misunderstood. The law has been executed, both under the present administration and under past administrations, with administrative fairness, without any attempt to be harsh or cruel, with all the humanity that is possible in the execution of such a law. But I ask you to think of the power that would be in the hands of an unbenevolent despot—if one should come—with that process of administration ready to hand. There is not an alien-born man or woman in the country that is safe, no, nor a citizen, unless he happens to be a person who could raise an outcry, whose rights a despot would be obliged to respect. It is a dangerous kind of system to have, in my judgment. This does not mean that we must repeal the exclusion law, that we must let down the fence and allow our labor market to be flooded with alien laborers. It does not mean that we must admit people with disease, although, for my part, I do not think that the disease features of the law have anything to do with immigration. I would just as leave contract consumption or trachoma or any loathsome disease from an alien as from a citizen. Disease inspection ought to be under a health bureau and not under the immigration bureau.

The Opportunity of the Despot

"But, entirely apart from that, I am not arguing to let down the bars in any way. I am asking you to watch the process of administering this law, because every people that has lost its liberties in the history of the world has

been one which had felt secure in the enjoyment of its liberties and had allowed methods to grow up surreptitiously and flourish until the 'man on horseback' came—not a liberal and benevolent despot, who could be trusted, but a despot who, finding the machinery of arbitrary powers ready to hand, has used it harshly and cruelly for the destruction of the liberties of the country over which he had come to preside.

"I do not intend, gentlemen, to preach upon the subject. Probably I have been too emphatic in some of my remarks, perhaps I have been too much disposed to indicate that I do not give my full sympathy to this method of administration, even though it happens to have fallen upon me to carry it out, for the most part. I am trying to administer it with a due regard for the liberties of the people on the one hand and a due regard for the law on the other, so that liberty may not be encroached upon and that the law itself may not fall into contempt. I should think myself derelict, however, if, having the opportunity to appear before this club to speak upon this subject, I would refrain from indicating what seems to me to be the awful danger to American liberty in the belly of that law and which may in due time be born.

"Recently, to my great amazement, I found the people of this country, many of whom I suppose understand the immigration question even more fully than I, sending telegrams to Washington in a sensational case—the detention of Mrs. Pankhurst—asking that despotic things be done in her behalf regardless of the law. These people did not intend to have the law violated, but neither did they stop to think that this law compelled what was done in that case by the authorities at Ellis Island. There was not a flaw in the action of those authorities. They executed the law just as they had been executing it against rich or poor, without discrimination. Yet there was an outcry against them. When the case came up to the Department, it was settled by taking advantage of a practice which had grown up to enable disqualified persons to come across the border temporarily to visit relatives or to transact business. Such persons are admitted on condition that they will return

at the end of their visit. Likewise, Mrs. Pankhurst was admitted, not as an alien coming to settle here, but as one having temporary business to do. She was given the privilege of making her visit and was put on her own recognizance to leave the country at the end of the visit, just as if she had been some poor woman going across the line from Canada to the United States to visit her son.

A Danger to Liberty

"The law has been fairly administered, as fairly, I think, as human administrative power admits of. But it is there and it has within it the potentialities of absolute despotism. The power which can, without judicial trial, send an American citizen, born in the United States, back to China because he has a Chinese face, will be able to send any other type of

American citizen, born here, back to a foreign country if he comes home under circumstances which made it difficult to prove his place of birth. This would be dangerous if a great despot, who is willing to use these laws for his own purpose, were in control of the nation. The courts would, by their own decision, be powerless to interfere.

"If what I have said interests you at all, let me ask you to secure copies of the immigration laws and the regulations for their administration and study them yourselves. See if you cannot, by your advice, help us in some way to get a system of immigration laws that will serve the true purposes of immigrant exclusion and yet not set up a star chamber court which may in time be used to destroy American liberty." (Applause.)

SHOULD THE CHICAGO ALDERMANIC ELECTIONS NEXT SPRING BE NON-PARTISAN?

The question, "Should the Aldermanic Elections Next Spring Be Non-Partisan?" was discussed at the City Club Friday, November 7, by Allen B. Pond of the Municipal Voters' League, George C. Sikes, Jane Addams and Alderman Charles E. Merriam. Judge Robert McMurdy, chairman of the City Club Committee on Political Nominations and Elections, presided.

Allen B. Pond

"In 1895 the critical situation of Chicago with reference to important matters of public policy—especially the proposed traction grants—drew the earnest attention of all observant citizens to the character of the Common Council. Groups of citizens came together to consider ways and means for improving its quality.

"Two sharply divergent views cropped out at once. On the one hand, some persons believed it utterly hopeless in Chicago and in American cities generally to rely upon the national party organizations to bring about good civic conditions. The immediate program of that group was the organization of a municipal party.

M. V. L. Organized to Aid Independent Voting

"In the other group were those who

realized that however desirable ideally a municipal party might be, to put such an organization into the field effectively so as to secure and hold the balance of power in the Council would be a work of several years at least, and that in the interim the proposed franchise grants which were sought from the city and which were so adverse to its interests would be nailed down, possibly for fifty or a hundred years. It was therefore necessary to find some method of stimulating independent, non-partisan voting as a means of securing, with the least delay, a City Council fit to deal with the issues at stake. The opinion of this second class prevailed, and there was organized as a result the body which came to be known as 'The Municipal Voters' League.' Thus the 'Municipal Voters' League' was based from the beginning upon the idea of non-partisan aldermanic elections and the ignoring of national party issues.

"The result of the first election after the organization of the League, that of 1896, was that eight wards voted counter to their prevailing party politics, and that in three wards independent candidates were elected. Evidently there were in the city at that time a considerable number of people willing to ignore national parties in municipal elections.

Great Hopes for Council Not Realized

"After the election four years from that time the better element got control of the Council and secured the organization of committees along independent lines instead of under the old bi-partisan gang system. At that time great hopes prevailed as to the future of the Council, but I think every one admits now that the actuality has not measured up to these hopes. The functions which the Council performs are important enough. The questions raised are difficult and complicated enough to challenge the interest and enthusiasm of able men. The chance of gaining credit by service rendered to the people is great, and it was hoped that political parties would, as a result of pressure, put up better men as nominees. As a matter of fact, many able men have been elected—men who have been clear-sighted, stiff-backed and independent. And yet, on the whole, there have been far too many easy-going, 'puzzle-headed' men in the Council—men subject to control by political parties and tied to local political cliques and interests. The result has been a certain ineffectiveness in the work of the Council for the last ten years. Every close observer of the Council realizes that this is the fact.

Party Politics—Not Voter—At Fault

"I fully believe—and I think all of my associates in the League believe—that this situation is not due to any back-sliding on the part of the average voter. There are undoubtedly many more voters today than there were in 1895 or 1899 who believe in non-partisanship in municipal affairs. The failure, I think, lies back of them in our lack of success in getting the right kind of nominees by the processes of party politics.

"We have found, in years past, ward 'bosses' professing their entire willingness—and I believe honestly professing—to accept able men as candidates if they would volunteer to serve. But men of caliber, men of clear sight, independent men will not willingly submit themselves to the dictation of party organizations in the wards. There is now the further complication that independent thinking and feeling have gradually grown up in the national party organizations themselves. There are men in the Council today who have served the city

well, who are faithful and efficient in the interests of the city, who are likely to be dropped out of the Council simply because of the factional difficulties in their own national parties.

"What is the remedy? Shall we fall back on the idea of municipal parties? I know of no place in the world, at present, where municipal parties are operating. Even in Germany and Great Britain, where the best municipal government is to be found, men are chosen for public office either with their party label on them or as independents, and not as candidates of a municipal party. Miss Addams corrects me and says that in London the national party lines have been broken down.

Municipal Parties Not the Present Solution

"A municipal party means a municipal program. It is evident that leaders of 'aggressive honesty' would be needed then as now, but while aggressive honesty is all very well as an emergency issue, what we want, after all, is men of well-defined principles—and a program. If we were to attempt to organize a municipal party today we should not have a program—we should have programs. These aggressively honest, independent men would divide on issues and break the party into factions. My judgment is that the time is not yet ripe in Chicago for municipal parties.

Independent Nominations—Though Risky—Favored

"Now, if we cannot get able men according to the old methods and the time is not ripe for municipal parties, there seems to remain open to us but one course, namely, to put up independent nominees and make a bolder and more vigorous effort to elect them and take our chances as to the result.

"In some cases that course may be disastrous. The Municipal Voters' League has always encouraged and, to a certain extent, suggested independent candidacies. As a result of the first municipal campaign, after the League was organized, three independents were sent to the Council. But the League has played a 'safe game.' It has felt that to put independent candidates into the field might, in many cases, divide the vote so that neither the independent nor

the better of the regular party candidates would be elected, leaving the field to the worse of the party candidates. I think, however, that conditions being as they are, the only thing to do is to take our courage in our hands and put independents in the field with sufficient backing to carry them through if possible. We cannot expect that men of the sort that we wish to have go to the Council and serve the public will finance and organize their own campaigns. It will remain for the citizens to do that. I believe that the time is ripe to foster independent candidates whatever the risk and that a step in that direction is a step in the right direction." (Applause.)

George C. Sikes

"The time was—and not so very long ago—when Chicago was in the forefront of municipal progress. Other cities looked to Chicago, and were stimulated to greater activity in behalf of good government by our successes. More recently we have sagged behind and are now well in the rear. The cities which, eight or ten years ago, were behind us are now ahead of us. New York, a conspicuous example, by the election of the Fusion ticket last Tuesday, is now in a better position municipally than we are. Even Philadelphia, in its election a year or two ago, made marked progress and, although she has fallen back somewhat this year, she is still better off than before. Cleveland has elected an efficient mayor by the non-partisan method of nominating and electing municipal officers. It is to the extent that these cities have succeeded in eliminating national politics from municipal elections that they are forging ahead of us.

"In Cleveland, the new charter makes provision for non-partisan elections and a non-partisan ballot. New York did not have that advantage. The Fusion ticket in New York was made up of non-partisan nominees but it was necessary to use the machinery of the existing parties. The non-partisan committee agreed on a list of candidates and these candidates were nominated by the existing Republican and Progressive parties—some of the names appearing also in the column of the Independence League and of two or three other groups. I

think Mitchel's name appeared on the ballot six times.

"Fusion" Impossible in Illinois

"We cannot adopt this method of 'fusion' under the Illinois law, for in this state a name can appear on the ballot but once. Consequently, a person has to choose whether he will have his name in the Republican column, the Democratic column, or the Progressive column. The only method, therefore, that is open to us is that of securing independent nominations.

"You all know of the efforts which have been made to get non-partisan legislation in Illinois. The partisan legislators refused to make provision for non-partisan municipal elections for Chicago as recommended by Mayor Harrison, the City Council and the civic organizations of this city. They refused even to pass a law for the non-partisan election of members of the City Council. They intended to doom us to the method of partisanship in the municipal elections, and we all know that that means stagnation and bad government.

"Now, shall we go on in the same old way and rest contented with this refusal, or shall we meet the situation and secure non-partisan candidacies despite the Legislature? It is very easy to do this in the coming aldermanic elections if we but show proper energy.

Party Agreement to Withhold Candidates Not Practicable

"Some party leaders, especially among the Progressives, say that they stand for non-partisan elections but that we cannot get them. They say they will join in any non-partisan arrangement that the other parties will agree to. That is out of the question. I, myself, am a Democrat, and I have no hope whatever that the Democratic organization in this community will stand for non-partisan elections and interfere with the spoils of the Democrats. Neither would the Republican organization agree to this non-partisan municipal program. If the leaders did so agree it would be difficult to carry the arrangement further, because, under the law, anybody could file his name as a party candidate and get all the advantage that comes from having his name on the ballot in the party column. The men who are in control of

the organizations do not really want non-partisanship, and there is the additional difficulty of the inertia you would have to overcome at the outset.

Public Must Back Non-Partisan Movement

"There are members of the City Council at the present time who would like to break away from the partisan machine and run as independents, if they thought they could win that way. And yet, in the absence of any general public movement and under the pressure of the organization leaders, they go along in the old way. If we could have a manifestation of public opinion and show that the movement has strong backing, I think a number of the sitting members of the City Council who ought to be re-elected would be glad to be candidates as independents.

"It is particularly unfortunate that we should allow partisanship to triumph now, when the women have just come into possession of the ballot. At the first election in which women participate, it is desirable that they should not be allied with parties which have no real place in municipal politics.

"We are a little confused sometimes about the word 'non-partisan.' It is sometimes thought that the word means that you cannot have a party organization. It doesn't mean that. It means simply the elimination of national parties from municipal affairs. Municipal parties, when the time comes, will be entirely proper. But we want to get away from the artificial alignment in purely local elections by which Democrats vote for Democratic nominees and Republicans vote for Republican nominees and Progressives vote for Progressive nominees. Under such an alignment men like Alderman Merriam and myself, who ought to be in agreement, are forced into different camps.

Should Promote Non-Partisan Candidacies

"What I hope for as the result of this meeting is an arousal of interest on this subject, so that the men who are hesitating as to what they shall do shall be shown that there is a real sentiment for non-partisan nominations and elections in this community and that it is worth while to try the non-partisan instead of the partisan way. I hope that organizations or committees will be formed in

various wards to promote non-partisan candidacies.

"The Seventh Ward, which elected Alderman Merriam last spring as an independent, is independent territory; a movement ought to be started in that ward to elect an independent alderman next spring. The Twenty-fifth Ward is also independent territory. You will remember that 'Charley' Thompson was elected there twice as an independent. The citizens of that ward ought to get together, regardless of party, and choose the best man they can find to serve them. They would get much abler men to represent them that way than they could under the old party method.

"I do not believe in following any principle to its extreme logical conclusion. I would not want to say that we must have thirty-five independent candidates next spring—an independent candidate in every ward. A good many situations would be found in which that course would not be wise. My notion is that a canvass would probably show a dozen or fifteen wards in which it would be worth while to foster independent candidacies next spring. The very demonstration of our power to elect men independently would help to get legislation and, in course of time, we would have all nominations of municipal officials independent and non-partisan.

"We ought to be careful, however, in promoting such candidacies, that whatever movement is started shall be in harmony with the policy of the Municipal Voters' League. The officials of the League, more than anyone else, will admit that the League does not cover the entire field; but the League has done excellent work. There is need now for an agency to assist in the nomination of men in order to give the League a better class of nominees from which to pick.

City-Wide Organization Needed

"I wish that in some way we could form an organization or a committee, city-wide in its scope, to carry on the agitation for non-partisanship and to promote the formation of organizations or committees in the wards where conditions are peculiarly ripe for action next spring. I don't know just how that organization should be called into existence, but I think we ought to have one.

"If we want good government in this community we must awake from our lethargy and handle the situation with vigor. To do that we should have some agency—in fact, a great many agencies working together—affirmatively for the independent nomination of aldermen in this community." (Applause.)

Jane Addams

"I take it that I have been asked to participate in this discussion largely because the women of Illinois have a vote in municipal affairs. While I have no possible right to speak for any woman's vote but my own, I think I am quite justified in saying that the sentiment among the majority of the women with whom I have talked ever since the good news came that we possessed the vote, has been in favor of non-partisanship in municipal affairs and in the election of aldermen. This is not for theoretical reasons but simply because for so long a time women have studied municipal matters from the point of view of municipal needs and not from the point of view of party success, that it is quite impossible for them to change that viewpoint all at once.

The Psychology of Politics

"Graham Wallas, in his very interesting book, 'Human Nature in Politics,' recently published in England, says that while we have learned to study education from the point of view of child psychology, so that instead of telling teachers only how to organize and manage a school they are taught to understand children, and that while we have begun to study the criminal from the point of view of criminal psychology so that instead of merely classifying crimes and punishments the offender is studied as a human being, we have not yet learned to apply social psychology to the field of political action.

"We go right on talking about the individual voter as if he were merely a party adjunct, a useful unit for party organization, exactly as the old economists used to talk about the 'economic man.' The economic man, you remember, was a sort of lone wolf who was impelled by no other desire than to keep himself and his family from starving. He would do anything to secure that and to accumulate money afterwards but no

other motive could possibly be brought to bear upon him. Of course, we all know, in the words of Artemus Ward, that 'there ain't no sich person' as the economic man and that the science of political economy made little progress until it got rid of that fiction and looked at men as they really exist, each with a bundle of complicated and overlapping motives.

"There is little doubt that at the present moment the science of politics with its arbitrary division of the voters into party adherents, is in much the same dreary condition as the old political economy was, and that many blunders are going to be made until we study the real facts of human nature in relation to political action.

Why Independent Candidates Fail

"So long as we remain under the party concept of politics—the mechanical concept which assumes that a voter will respond only to recognized party cries and loyalties—it is easy to understand why independent candidates have so often failed; and no one in Chicago knows more about failures in independent candidacies than a resident in the Nineteenth Ward like myself.

"The independent candidate fails largely because the party has become such a permanent and beloved object to the average voter that he finds it difficult to marshal any enthusiasm or interest when the party appeal is lacking. He has been trained from childhood to adhere to the party, to shout for its emblems, to respond to its demands and to vote in its column. His political party has obtained a certain hold upon his affections which the independent candidate, making an abstract appeal, cannot secure.

Voter Will Not Respond to Intellectual Appeal Alone

"Something of the glamour, something of the loyalty that attach to the party, must be transferred to the independent candidate or, of course, he can never be successful. But, with a curious disregard of the human nature of the average voter, such a candidate too often deals with political measures as if they were pure abstractions, and too often talks only of principles and reforms; and because his campaign lacks, perforce, the

glamour that surrounds the party, he conducts it without the aid of any glamour at all. Naturally this lack of color results in failure, for while the candidate and his managers may be sustained by a sense of virtue and consciousness that their reform will save the city, they do not get this across to the voter, who either does not know that there is a non-partisan campaign going on at all, or vaguely wonders what new graft there is in it, or—most commonly of all—resents the entire effort as a criticism upon all existing parties and upon his own in particular.

"At the time of election, and during the campaign preceding it, his emotional nature has been accustomed to a state of expansion, for he loves his party and his candidates with a real affection, and it is largely this genuine affection for political entities called parties which makes political union possible and accounts for the tactics of an ordinary election, which consists largely of appeals to this assumed affection. The independent candidate who ignores all this and takes his stand upon abstract principle naturally excites hostility. It has been cleverly said that the Athenians put Socrates to death really because his dialectics turned the gods back into abstractions.

"While this exact fate does not befall the non-partisan, independent candidate, something very like it often occurs. The easiest way—possibly the only way—to establish the zeal and devotion which shall be able to compete with the old party loyalties is to walk straight away from the conception of the voter as a party unit, as the political economists have already abandoned their conception of the 'economic man,' and to organize municipal campaigns upon the basis of human nature as we all know it and have learned to deal with it in our daily relations outside of politics.

The Part That Women Will Play

"In this present need of relating human nature as it is to political action which shall push forward municipal measures upon their merits, irrespective of party slogans, the newly enfranchised women voters will doubtless prove of inestimable value, because they are accustomed to understand the people as they are in their daily lives, to find out what they want and to try to secure it

from the existing governmental officials rather than from party leaders.

"I don't wish to claim too much for women; on the whole the women who have wanted to vote have, I admit, always claimed too much for themselves. But I contend that women coming into politics freshly are going to take them from the point of view of human needs, and that they will more easily discover the great gaps which at present exist between the reasonable ministration to those needs and the pretensions of the various political parties.

Women to Be Candidates

"Because of that situation and because of the value of the very newness of the vote among the women of Chicago, some of us are quite resolved to put up two or three women as candidates for aldermen, and it seems to me quite clear that these women candidates should be non-partisan. I realize that it is too soon to begin to inaugurate a campaign for any particular aldermanic candidate, but because the idea of women candidates may not be popular I take this occasion to announce the intention to this Club that its members may get used to the idea, for there is nothing so kindly as time in healing the wounds made by new suggestions upon our stock of fixed ideas.

"When I was in London thirty-four years ago, about the time that the London County Council was established, two women were elected members of the new Council, for then, as now, householders in London—women as well as men—had a vote. One of these women was the daughter of Richard Cobden and was elected, I believe, partly because of her father's name, as people occasionally are elected even here in Chicago. The other was Victoria Cons, a woman who had stood for much needed reforms in the most neglected part of London. These two women, although elected, were not allowed to sit because of a court decision which declared them not eligible, but if women could be elected to the London County Council thirty-four years ago I am sure we might reasonably expect to elect women to the Common Council of Chicago in the year 1914.

Human Welfare the Keynote

"I do not in the least know what the platforms of the women will be. I am

quite sure that if Miss McDowell is a candidate for alderman the question of garbage disposal will not be omitted from her program, and I am also convinced that the women will not make their primary appeal to the intellectual voter who can balance between abstractions, but to sympathetic men and women who are eager to make Chicago a better place to live in if they can see how it may be done. Doubtless, some aldermanic candidate—man or woman—will see the importance of unnecessary arrests. 84,581 people were arrested in Chicago last year and of this number 48,563 were discharged because the policeman had made a mistake. We can all easily imagine what it means to a family to have one of its members arrested—the disgrace, the fright, the emotional disturbance, not only to the immediate family, but to the remotest relatives. When Mr. Gaynor became mayor of New York one of the first things he did was to cut down the number of arrests from 235,000 to 132,000—not because he was a politician, but because he was a big-hearted man who realized the unnecessary wretchedness which unjustified arrests brought about. It was that sort of thing, I suppose, which brought to his side many people who were not members of his party.

"I am quite sure that some woman candidate will say something about the feeble-minded children of Chicago who, because they are uncared for, get into all sorts of difficulties so that one-third of the boys in Pontiac and more than one-third of the girls at Geneva are subnormal. These children should have been cared for long before they became criminals and it is only reasonable to insist that they be safeguarded.

"One could mention endless human needs, such as good housing, which ought to become part of the municipal program. These are not abstract propositions—they have to do with things which need to be done and can be done only by the people who take them at their face value, irrespective of party distinctions.

The Municipal Program and National Parties

"I think the woman's vote will keep the politicians guessing until they get hold of this clew, that it will be the task

of the women to translate human needs into political action. I cannot see that such a municipal program will have any reasonable connection with national parties. If, in Chicago, we can put into office those candidates who will endeavor to minister to these great human needs, who will try to improve the conditions of neglected children, of badly housed families, of bewildered immigrants, I do not believe we need be worried as to whether the candidates stand in any party, Democratic, Republican, Progressive or Socialist." (Applause.)

Ald. Charles E. Merriam

"I can speak by the card in regard to the methods of running for an aldermanic position, for I have tried both ways. I had the honor to be elected from the old Seventh Ward four years ago as a Republican, and I had the honor to be elected to represent the new Seventh Ward last spring as an independent. I have been through both kinds of campaign.

Spread of Non-Partisan Elections

"There has been no more striking movement in the history of American cities during the past ten years than the very rapid spread of non-partisan city elections. It began with the movement to change the date of the city elections. Originally, city, state and national elections were held together, and the mayor, the governor, the congressmen and the president of the United States were chosen at one time. This was changed by setting aside a special date for the city election. Now city and national elections are hardly ever held on the same day.

"In the last ten years, practically all of the commission-governed cities—numbering now about three hundred—have adopted non-partisan city elections. I remember going through the city of Cedar Rapids the day after that city had its first non-partisan primary election under commission government. I asked a man whom I met there between trains about the politics of the men who had been nominated to office the day before. He said at first he didn't know, but after a few minutes he said: 'Well, I guess there wasn't no politics in it.' He couldn't tell whether the men who had been chosen were Republicans or Demo-

crats—I suppose he was reasonably sure they were neither Socialists nor Prohibitionists.

"It is also true that in many of the large cities of the country, where commission government has not been adopted, the national parties have been driven out of local politics or at least denied any legal recognition. That is true of Boston, Pittsburgh, many of the cities of Ohio, San Francisco, Los Angeles, St. Paul, New Orleans and Denver. In fact, there are only a few of the large cities of the country where the national parties are still recognized. In New York, Philadelphia, St. Louis and Chicago there has been no legal recognition of the non-partisan idea, although in New York and Philadelphia parties have sometimes combined on a 'fusion' ticket.

Purpose Is to Make Local Issues Dominant

"Now the reason for the adoption of non-partisan election methods is, I take it, not merely the abstract idea of getting away from the domination of national parties. It is a very practical reason. Non-partisan elections make it possible for citizens to focus their attention more closely on local affairs. They bring about a more intelligent discussion of municipal housekeeping.

"I remember years ago, in a municipal campaign, Senator Foraker of Ohio came to New York and told the citizens of that city that they should carry New York for the Republicans in order that the national administration might be justified. Senator Thurston of Nebraska made a speech on the tariff and insisted that the people should uphold the national administration. Democratic orators, too, came in, with special pleas based on the interests of the national party. It was impossible in that campaign to deal with any of the local issues which affected so vitally the welfare of the people.

Why National Parties Control City Politics

"The whole purpose of the national parties was to focus attention upon national questions, because from their point of view the city of New York was the barometer which registered Republican success or Republican disaster, Democratic success or Democratic disaster. And not only that, the city was

a granary. It became the headquarters for graft, patronage, the pursuit of special privileges, the distribution of official favors to men belonging to the national parties.

"The national parties have followed the same course in Philadelphia, Chicago, St. Louis and San Francisco and other large cities because they wanted to advertise to the country that those cities had voted one way or the other and because they wanted to add materially to the amount of local party patronage in those cities. There was nothing in that system which permitted of a discussion of local problems. It tended to obscure the issues of public honesty and public efficiency, of democracy, those great human welfare issues, which Miss Addams referred to, and all other important local problems.

Results of National Party Control

"From my experience in the city hall, I believe that the national parties do no good over there and they do a lot of harm. Whenever any action is proposed, the question arises: 'What is the attitude of Democrats toward this, or the attitude of Republicans?' It is very difficult and embarrassing to get around questions which are raised in that way. The national parties have not come to the aid of the city administration or the City Council, they have come rather to their embarrassment. They trip and tangle and tie them up in various ways and prevent the working out of the right kind of public service.

May Be Municipal Parties

"It is quite true that there are likely to be parties in any case. He would be a bold man who would say now that in the long run there will be no political parties in local elections—I don't know whether there will be or won't be. In London, it is true, the Progressive and the Moderate parties are strictly municipal parties, although they follow to some extent, but not altogether, the lines of the national parties. I don't know whether non-partisanship is going to work out into the form of municipal parties or not—I don't care for our present purposes. That is left for the future. The great motive now back of the non-partisan movement in the cities is that, for the time being, it should be made

possible to break away from the artificial limitations of the national parties and to compass the real situation, to prevent the sacrifice of the community to national issues, to stop the discussion of the tariff, currency, Andrew Jackson and Alexander Hamilton, and to get down to the question of the garbage pail, the vice problem, the police situation, child welfare, small parks, the city plan and railway terminals.

Law Prevents Parties from Combining on Candidates

"Now so far as our own local elections are concerned, I believe they should be non-partisan. Whether they will be or not I don't know. Our law prevents the combination of candidates. A name cannot appear on the ballot more than once. A man cannot be nominated by the Progressives and the Republicans and the Democrats and have his name placed in all columns. That is a ridiculous law. It was put on the books by the Legislature twenty years ago. An attempt was made to do away with it during the last session of the Legislature, but the Legislature for partisan reasons would not hear to it.

"The Progressives in the last spring election offered to the other parties not to run candidates under party labels if they would meet the same terms. That offer was not accepted. In three wards, the Seventh, Twenty-fifth and Twenty-seventh, independent candidates were put up. My own campaign was the only one which was successful, although both in the Twenty-fifth and Twenty-seventh Wards a very good showing was made.

"Now you cannot expect the Progressives to do all the non-partisan work. You cannot strike down partisanship by destroying one party. That would leave two parties and partisan issues would be just as strong as they were before.

Women Will Aid Non-Partisan Movement

"The hopeful thing I see in the present situation is the doubling of our electorate. Last spring we had over four hundred thousand electors, next spring we shall have over eight hundred thousand. The four hundred thousand new voters will hold the balance of power, and not only the balance, but the governing power. The men are tied by

party tradition, by party prejudice, by party passion. But the women of Chicago are not presumed to have party prejudices. If they say there must not be party elections we cannot have them.

"Next spring I believe that the independent candidates in the various wards will receive the support of the independent voters, men and women. I think this is the greatest opportunity Chicago has had in all of its municipal history to get away from the national parties and to have real discussion of our local problems.

Independent Candidacies Urged

"It would be a very good thing for Chicago to have a campaign, a series of campaigns, in which all of our local problems could be freely discussed. I hope that in the various wards independent groups will form and select the proper men and women for candidates and that they will make good fights for them. As Mr. Sikes has said, you cannot lay down a general rule, but wherever local circumstances will permit, independent candidates should be nominated and a fight made along non-partisan lines. If we have in the City Council next spring twelve aldermen fresh from the people to meet the real local problems there will be a wonderful change in the next two or three years in the life of Chicago. If the people from the different wards would send into the Council the kind of men they want, not the men provided by the national party machines, they could transform the City Council in a year or two. They could transform the spirit of it after one election.

"What these four hundred thousand new voters will do we cannot say, but I believe that, of the entire electorate of eight hundred thousand, seven hundred and fifty thousand want much the same thing, as far as honesty and efficiency are concerned, as far as democracy is concerned. But whether they will be fooled and deceived by the old symbols, names and labels, or will seize this marvelous opportunity when there is no other office to be filled except that of alderman, no other issue, no national campaign involved, is more than any man can tell." (Applause.)

The City Club Bulletin

Published by the CITY CLUB OF CHICAGO, 315 Plymouth Court

DWIGHT L. AKERS, Editor

VOLUME VI

TUESDAY, DECEMBER 16, 1913

NUMBER 15

CHICAGO'S HARBOR PROBLEM

The conflict between the Board of South Park Commissioners and General W. H. Bixby, United States engineer, over the proposed plan for the construction of a parkway along the lake front between Grant and Jackson Parks, drew a long and many-sided discussion at the City Club on November 15. Mr. Charles H. Wacker, president of the Chicago Plan Commission, described the historical development of the scheme for a lake front park extending south from the river and stated the arguments in its favor. Mr. Lyman E. Cooley, consulting engineer for the Sanitary District of Chicago, and Mr. John M. Ewen, chairman of the Chicago Harbor Commission of 1909, discussed the objection raised by General Bixby to the plan, namely, that it threatened a proper harbor development along the lake front south of the mouth of the river. Mr. Allen B. Pond presided and in opening the discussion said:

Allen B. Pond

"There is a widespread sentiment in the middle West that there should be a development of our inland waterways, to the end that communities along those waterways may be connected with each other, and also with the gulf and the great lakes. Nobody knows how long it may take to develop that system of waterways, but we shall do well to take it for granted that that system will come some time, and we should assume in discussing the harbor question for Chicago that it will be linked up with those waterways. Therefore, in any plans we make at the present time for a harbor, we should see that the way is left open for a suitable connection with such inland waterways. This does not mean that we should start now to build that

connection, but that we should see to it that we do not handicap ourselves hereafter when the time comes for doing it. We should determine the point where we desire to make that connection and avoid expensive improvements that will stand in the way of such a connection.

"There has been, within the memory of all here, a very considerable change in the character and amount of the lake traffic. The natural evolution has resulted in some traffic dropping down to a very much lower amount. For example, the change in the location from which we draw our lumber supplies; the development of communities with equal harbor facilities nearer the grain fields—those things and others have affected the amount and character of lake traffic. But I think we should properly admit that no matter how great the development of railways in this country, there will continue to be an extensive demand for lake traffic, and that Chicago should see to it that it is not only abreast of that demand but that it has been far sighted enough to look ahead and be ready for an extension of that demand.

Our Limited Duty to the Future

"It does not, however, follow that anybody today or any set of men today can foresee what that demand will be at a period of say fifty years hence or seventy-five years hence or one hundred years hence. In other words, it is not necessary that we today should undertake to build harbors for an unknown extent of lake commerce. What is necessary is that we today should provide for two types of service and should wisely plan for growth of each of these types—a service for the needs of the commercial center of the city and a serv-

ice for the industrial districts of the city. In any use we may make of areas which hereafter may possibly be required for harbor purposes we should keep in mind this need for room to grow. It certainly is not necessary, however, that we should, in the meantime, withhold from use for any public purpose whatsoever all areas which may potentially be desired for harbors at some future date, fifty or seventy-five or one hundred years from now. We should merely test whatever plan is offered, no matter what the plan may be, from the standpoint of that distant future to see that a way is left open by which the city at some future time may convert to harbor uses, if it should so desire, areas which it may be wise on our part to use now for the benefit of the people in some other way.

Where the "Expert" Is Sometimes Weak

"I am not a believer in the common American theory that every American is a jack-of-all-trades, and that every American's opinion is good on every subject. I am a profound believer in the necessity for the specialist; and at the same time I wish to qualify my belief in the specialist. There is always one danger in the point of view of the specialist. A specialist naturally sees his problem in the working details that he is particularly engaged in. He tends to overlook, and there is always the danger that he may overlook, the particular problem in reference to its total perspective, in reference to its relation to the entire field.

"We have, for example, in the question of railway terminals, the railway specialist seeking to develop a terminal suited to the needs of his own system—something to handle his business economically and in a place located to suit his business and its growth; but, I think, we may say that ninety-nine times out of a hundred, perhaps nine hundred and ninety-nine times out of a thousand, the specialist will tend to overlook the larger implication of the subject, a larger functioning which takes in other aspects of public life. The view of the specialist, therefore, must be tested by a judgment of the problem which has been worked out in relation to other

functions and to other needs of the life of the city.

The "Part" and the "Whole"

"And so, in considering any harbor solution, we must consider it not merely as a mechanical engineering problem relating solely to a harbor, a means of taking care of the handling of boats, their reception, their turning, their egress, suitable facilities for loading and unloading and for warehousing, provision for railway connections, connection with other waterways; but all of these important, fundamental things must be considered with reference to the total city, a city whose life is complex and which has to provide for many functions of business and of pleasure.

"Then there is one further thing I wish to advert to and that is that because we have been in the habit of doing a thing in a certain way and that, therefore, to continue in that way or in a variation of that way is the obvious thing to do, it does not follow that it is the wise thing to do. Whenever you consider the evolution and development of any function now being performed, an evolution on so great a scale as to make material changes in the character of the machinery devoted to performing that function, it is an open question then for wise consideration whether or not it may not be worth while to scrap all you have done, all the machinery you have, and begin over again.

Scrapping the Past

"I do not mean to say that the way to do things is always to scrap the past, by any manner of means; but I mean to say that the wise man is the man who approaches every large problem with a mind open and a willingness, if necessary, to scrap the past and begin over again. And, in considering the harbor proposition, one should, if necessary, be willing to scrap something which may possibly be a detriment if retained, and to do that in favor of a larger and better scheme which can be better handled without the past at all.

"So much for considerations which should bear on any proposed solution of the harbor question.

"No American community, no democratic community can make progress un-

less it has a considerable body of citizens who are devoted to its interests, who give time and thought unselfishly to the public welfare. Chicago is very fortunate in having many citizens of that sort. I know of no man in Chicago who, during late years, has given greater enthusiasm, and at greater cost to himself of time and health and strength, to matters involving the best interests of the city, than has our first speaker. His work has called him into the field of city planning and he has had in that connection to take account of many things bearing on the life of the city. I take great pleasure, therefore, in introducing our first speaker, Mr. Charles H. Wacker." (Applause.)

Charles H. Wacker

"As Chairman of the Chicago Plan Commission, and as a citizen of the city of Chicago with, I believe, its future welfare deeply at heart, I am in favor of the park development along the lake front from Grant Park to Jackson Park for the following reasons:

"First—Because I know that the people of Chicago are fully informed as to what is contemplated in the Lake Shore Improvement plan, the reasons for, and benefits of this plan to the people of Chicago.

"The first suggestion for the development of a lake front park came from the famous landscape architect, Mr. Olmstead, in a report to the South Park Commissioners made as early as 1870. The steps in the present plan, however, were as follows:

"a. The inception of the idea just after the World's Fair.

"b. A proposal by the South Park Commissioners during the year following the Fair for the improvement of the lake front from Jackson Park to Grant Park.

Beginning of the Burnham Plan

"c. The presenting to the South Park Commissioners and the exhibition before the Commercial Club of a design for park development from Grant to Jackson Parks. This was in 1896 by Daniel H. Burnham.

"d. The adoption of Mr. Burnham's report as a part of the plan of Chicago by the Commercial Club of Chicago.

"e. The appointment of the Chicago Plan Commission to study and develop the plan of Chicago.

"f. The approval by the Harbor Commission of the lake front plan as proposed in the plan of Chicago, with suggestions that certain harbor rights be protected.

"g. In a resolution adopted by the unanimous vote of the City Council on January 25, 1910, for the creation of the Lake Shore Reclamation Commission, it was recited as follows:

Whereas, Sundry private interests and corporations claim ownership to large portions of the shore of Lake Michigan between Indiana state line on the south and Devon avenue on the north, and

Whereas, The said lake shore should be forever held by the city of Chicago or by the several park boards within said city in trust for all the people for recreation and park purposes.

Lake Front Parkway Favored by All

"Practically the only question discussed before the Council Committee on Harbors, Wharves and Bridges during hearings on the agreement between the South Park Commissioners and the Illinois Central Company was the terms of the agreement, whether the public interest was sufficiently protected. There was no opposition to the plan to build a park way improvement. The protest of the committee of citizens, by whose intervention the more favorable terms in the agreement of March 30, 1912, and the supplemental agreement of June 26, 1912, were secured, was expressly put upon this ground. In the original communication of this committee to the mayor and Council, dated January 23, 1913, it was stated:

The signers of this statement believe in lake front park development.

Mr. Lessing Rosenthal, who appeared as the attorney for the committee, said:

Now I am in favor of the beautification of the city. I am in favor of an outer boulevard. I think everyone who has signed this particular petition is in favor of the same thing.

Alderman Merriam, another member of the citizen's committee, said before the Harbor Committee on February 22, 1912:

This plan now pending before your committee is based on a certain doctrine of the city beautiful. To that extent I am

heartily in favor of it. If you look at the outside circle of park that is to be built out from the lake shore, it does beautify the south side of Chicago, and to that extent is a benefit to the entire city.

Again Mr. Merriam said:

The outer part of this plan, that part of it which provides for an encircling part of boulevards and parks to be laid out into the lake, that unquestionably is a good thing.

"As already stated, the controversy as to the terms of the agreement is now settled and past, and the time has arrived for the construction of the improvement upon which practically all minds seemed to be agreed at the hearings of the Harbor Committee. This conclusion was stated by Alderman Long, chairman of the Lake Shore Reclamation Commission, upon pages 208-9 of the report of the commission issued in 1912. Mr. Long said:

While it is apparent from the foregoing proceedings before the Committee on Harbors, Wharves and Bridges, and before the courts, that there was considerable diversity of opinions relative to the adjustment of the details of the Illinois Central case, it is also true that there was never any real difference between the several persons who took part in the proceedings as to the results sought to be attained.

First Definite Steps Taken

"h. The acquisition of the riparian rights of the Illinois Central Railroad Company and other shore owners by the South Park Commissioners, accomplished through a series of negotiations and agreements.

"j. The agreement between the South Park Commissioners and the city of Chicago, evidenced by a resolution of the South Park Commissioners that, in consideration of the city's withdrawing the ordinance for Harbor District No. 3, extending from Grant Park to 31st street, which would have interfered with the plans for a parkway improvement, the South Park Commissioners would permit the city, if occasion arose, to utilize for harbor purposes, all submerged lands not required for the parkway improvement between 16th and 22d streets. Said resolution further provided that the city of Chicago might enter across and over any lands which might be owned or acquired by said South Park Commissioners with not

more than six tracks on or adjacent to either 16th, 18th, 19th, 20th or 21st streets, and that the city might also use and occupy a right of way from 41st street to 16th street for not more than four tracks located immediately east of the right of way of the Illinois Central Railroad Company; it being further understood that the commissioners will grant to the city free and suitable access to said harbor when established.

Council Provides for Future Harbor

"These resolutions were adopted after the mayor of the city of Chicago had vetoed an ordinance for the creation of the so-called Harbor No. 3, appropriating for harbor propositions the submerged lands and waters between Grant Park and 31st street, because the ordinance would interfere with the plans of the South Park Commissioners to connect Jackson Park and Grant Park by a proposed parkway. The veto was sustained and the harbor ordinance defeated on November 27, by the unanimous vote of the City Council upon promises of the South Park Commissioners, expressed in its resolution, that it would permit the city to use for harbor purposes all riparian rights and submerged lands between 16th and 22d streets not used or to be used by the South Park Commissioners for the proposed parkway.

"In other words, the City Council thus unanimously approved the plan for the construction of a parkway connecting Grant Park and Jackson Park, provided any riparian rights and submerged lands not required for that purpose, between 16th and 22d streets, might be utilized by the city of Chicago for a harbor purpose if the need arose.

"It must also be borne in mind that whenever public interest requires the establishment of a harbor anywhere along the lake front between Grant Park and Jackson Park, it will be within the power of the state of Illinois by apt legislation to appropriate the submerged lands and riparian rights for that purpose.

State Reserves Ample Powers

"The South Park Commission is only an agency of the state, and the state which today, in response to an overwhelming public opinion, provides that

the submerged lands and riparian rights between Grant Park and Jackson Park may be utilized for the creation of an outer parkway to enable the people of the city to enjoy the blessings of the lake, can to-morrow, if the business interests or the public interests of Chicago demand it, change the application and appropriate the same lands and rights for one or more harbors. At the present time nobody can say that there is a demand for a harbor between Grant and Jackson Parks, except possibly in the vicinity of 16th street, where, in the opinion of engineers, a harbor could be developed without interference with the parkway improvement.

"Aside from that, the need of a harbor between Grant Park and Jackson Park is only a remote and speculative contingency; it is not a present condition. The real question is, therefore, whether until such a contingency arises, if it ever does arise, the lake front shall remain in its present condition, a priceless but unrealized asset, or whether, through favorable action by the government upon the pending application of the South Park Commissioners, the commissioners shall be put in a position to begin work upon an improvement which is now feasible and earnestly desired, and make the lake front available for the people.

"The report of the sub-committee of the City Council Committee on Harbors, Wharves and Bridges, of 1911, treats this subject most comprehensively, and all through the narrative of their deliberations they concur in the ultimate realization of a parkway plan between Grant and Jackson Parks. They also recognize that there is no necessary conflict between such a plan and such harbor development as in the future may be needed.

Engineering Support Cited

"Mr. Lyman E. Cooley, from whom you will also hear today, testified before the Chicago Harbor Commission as follows:

The logical development for a population and for industries that want to be by the waterside, and for commercial development, is not along the lake front, but along this channel (the Drainage Canal) and down the state of Illinois. I don't see how we can put the harbor on the lake front

without complicating our sanitary problems. I don't see how we can construct industries along the lake front without increasing the sanitary cost in the future. However, there is another point in that connection. The polluted area of a harbor itself is very great. I don't know how much commercial development is expected along this lake front from the harbor. If it amounts to what it should amount to, and with the growth of our city in the future, it will occupy a large section of this lake front and eventually will concentrate there a large proportion of the filth producing industries. If we can produce this proposition inland, I think it serves our people far better. I think it is far cheaper in the long run. The sanitary question is far easier. It lends itself better to the waterway question, and you are contributing in a large way to a waterway possibility in which the state and nation is interested, and thus may enlist their co-operation, whereas on the lake front we have something that is of no use to anybody but Chicago alone. Put a strip of greensward along the lake front and let residences spread out north and south, but don't concentrate your trade there, or any industries that produce it, or the commerce which produces it. I have no objections to certain development on the lake front for the coast trade, for this lake front trade. I think perhaps there is a proper place for limited use near the mouth of your inlet, especially in the future, as I believe you will be compelled to do yet, and construct a basin around this inlet leading to this waterway, inclosing a couple of square miles. Every lake man is familiar with pollution. He has seen the river carry pollution into the lake. A basin will prevent that and hold it until the channel resumes its flow.

Shipping Forces Favor Parkway

"Mr. George Marcy of the Armour Grain Company, large shippers, said:

As a citizen of Chicago, disregarding my business, I am very much opposed to seeing the lake front taken up as a harbor, for the reason that a harbor brings all kinds of manufacturing industries, rolling mills, coal yards, freight yards and manufacturing institutions, etc.

"Mr. William H. Johnson, General Western Agent of the Anchor Line, said:

A breakwater extending from Lincoln Park to South Chicago would unquestionably be a nice thing for Chicago, but, as I understand it, the government would not build such a breakwater for the protection of park property, and there are a great many people of the opinion that there is no necessity of creating a commercial harbor, to use any of the property from the south pier of the main river to Jackson Park, and from my viewpoint I agree that the city and state should continue to reserve that portion of the lake front for park purposes.

Chicago should never tolerate a manufacturing or industrial harbor which would disfigure its waterfront, but there can be no such objections raised to a commercial harbor.

*"Second—*Because a parkway can be created along the lake front by the utilization of the waste material of the city without practically any cost to the city. (See Journal of the proceedings of the City Council, dated September 25, 1911, under the caption 'Lake Front Improvement.'

*"Third—*Because, in all our educational propaganda, we have pointed out the necessities for the lake front improvement as proposed in the plan of Chicago as material for the health and happiness of our people, hygienically and socially, and found that that aspect of the case met with universal approval. So much so that I can say without hesitation that no satisfactory agreement between the Illinois Central corporation and the South Park Commissioners would ever have been reached excepting for the work of the Chicago Plan Commission in spreading knowledge city-wide on this subject.

Would Reclaim the Lake Front

"The health-giving lake front should be reclaimed for the uses of the people. All cross town lines should be extended to the Illinois Central right of way so that the people in congested districts on the West Side could reach the bathing beaches, pleasure piers and the park area at an expenditure of five cents, and in the shortest possible time.

*"Fourth—*It will give to the people five miles of new parks, or 1,550 acres of parks, play grounds, baseball fields and tennis courts.

*"Fifth—*It will enable the South Park Board to create a pleasure pier at 22d street, and two bathing beaches along the lake front. Let any man visit the bathing beach in Lincoln Park during the hot days of the summer and ask himself whether the people want or need this or not.

*"Sixth—*From 75 to 100 acres of priceless land per year can be created without practically any additional cost to the city.

*"Seventh—*The capitalizing of a metropolitan city's luxuries is a splendid paying investment in money and health.

*"Eighth—*Statistics prove that the physical development of man in large cities is deteriorating, hence, from a hygienic point of view, the importance of creating more bathing beaches, pleasure piers, play grounds, and small parks.

Chicago Needs More Park Space

*"Ninth—*Chicago's park area of 4,388 acres is too small. For health and good order there should be one acre of park space to each 100 population. Chicago's average is one acre to each 780. In the thickly populated districts there are 5,000 people to one acre of park space.

*"Tenth—*We cannot retain our commercial standing and retain our position as a trade center for fully fifty million people without catering to their tastes, or making our city agreeable, comfortable, attractive and healthful.

*"Eleventh—*The improvements spoken of, combined with the proposed improvement of West 12th street and that of Michigan avenue, from Randolph street north to Chicago avenue, and the improvements proposed by the South Park Commissioners and outlined in the plan of Chicago from Grant Park to Jackson Park would give to Chicago a waterfront, without in any way interfering with the harbor developments, which would be at once more useful, imposing and grand than the waterfront of any other city in the world.

*"Twelfth—*Widened, Twelfth street could be extended from Michigan avenue across the tracks of the Illinois Central into Grant Park, giving to the West Side a splendid approach to the lake and bring the great West Side into close proximity to the lake.

*"Thirteenth—*As a member of the Chicago Harbor Commission of 1909, I voted for the recommendations contained in its report and nothing has developed since to cause me to change my views in regard to the lake front improvements. The agreement between the city of Chicago and the South Park Commissioners which will make it possible to create a harbor between 16th street and 22d street and to connect the St. Charles Air Line at 16th street, and the Junction Railway at 41st street removes every objection I ever had to the lake front development. The lake front improvements as proposed, with the

agreement between the city of Chicago and the South Park Commissioners which makes it possible to create a harbor between 16th and 22d streets and connect the St. Charles Air Line and Junction Railway, will in no wise interfere with the creation of an inner harbor in the Sanitary District.

Ample Harbor Facilities in Sight

"I am satisfied in my own mind, and that without question, the city of Chicago will never require more commercial harbors than can be built between the river and Chicago avenue, between the river and Randolph street, and between 16th and 22d streets. Most people do not realize that, thanks to improved machinery for handling freight, it does not require now more than about 25 per cent of the dockage to handle the same amount of freight that it required 25 years ago.

"The industrial harbor developments will take place in South Chicago and in the Calumet district where water and rail can easily be brought together, where railway facilities are unsurpassed, where industrial developments are greatest, and where property for industrial purposes can be acquired cheaply.

"Nobody contends that these harbors will not satisfy the needs of the city for an indefinite period, and, in all likelihood, forever. If the time should ever come that additional facilities are needed it will lie within the power of the state to provide for them, but I insist that in the meantime, for the reasons which I now wish to state, we should not neglect the opportunity to make the lake shore between Grant Park and Jackson Park, which is not required for harbor development, a great playground and recreation center for all the people of Chicago.

A Great Public Benefaction

"In my report to the City Council it was shown that no public improvement that could ever be accomplished by the city of Chicago would be more wise, economically beneficial and generally appreciated by the people than the creation of a large additional park space along the city's water front, by the construction of breakwaters for the retention and

utilization of Chicago waste material. There is now permitted the shameful waste of a vast amount of such material that could be utilized at practically no cost to the city in developing the lake front for park playgrounds for the enjoyment of all the people; where family picnics, baseball, tennis and all manner of outdoor sports could be freely indulged in. The establishment of this health and pleasure-giving possibility would cause a tide of gratitude to flow toward the creators thereof that nothing in all time could stem or stop. This park would serve directly two-thirds of the entire population of the city of Chicago.

"The chief concern of Chicago should be the public health of its citizens—its greatest asset. The Chicago Plan demands more and larger parks and playgrounds. The laws of hygiene show Chicago's park area to be inadequate and entirely out of proportion to the population, as shown by social experts. The question of additional park space has been given the widest possible attention in the Chicago plan now being studied and promoted by the Chicago Plan Commission. Lake front plans provide in detail for the improvement and extensive acquisition of park area along the city's front, by utilizing Chicago's waste material; 1,500 acres may be provided in this way. In no other way can the city add so expeditiously and economically large tracts of land, magnificently located for park and health-giving pleasure purposes.

"This is a work that should not be delayed a single hour longer than is absolutely required to comply with all necessary legal procedure and to protect the city's harbor interests. The people of Chicago know their lake front only at Jackson, Lincoln and Grant Parks. Five miles of Chicago's lake front for the people, out of a total of twenty or thirty miles. Who will be held accountable if the people are not given wider opportunity to enjoy their natural heritage?

Easy of Achievement

"It is not contemplated that this work shall be accomplished in a day or a year, but that this park shall gradually be created, as rapidly as can be. Figures prove that 100 acres each year could be

made by utilizing Chicago's waste material, and practically at no extra cost to the taxpayers. By our present methods of using the lake for a dumping ground we are creating a great danger to navigation in building submerged lands in and around our harbor entrance, to say nothing about endangering the health of our people. It is senseless thus to waste material worth millions and a crime to permit the pollution of our city's water supply after having expended approximately \$63,000,000 to insure its purity. Chicago must arouse herself and not let the lake front advantage, knocking loudly at her door, slip away.

"In all the controversy running over a period of years about the park development of the lake front, does it not strike one as strange that if menace actually exists to future harbor needs the navigation interests most primarily affected have not come forward and fought the issue? No opposition from navigation, commercial or industrial interests to the park development has been heard. On the contrary, all of these interests have spoken for the parkway development. Numbered among the advocates of this plan are also, in addition to the South Park Commissioners, the city administration, the Harbor Commission, the Commercial Club of Chicago, the Chicago Association of Commerce, Col. George A. Zinn, late federal engineer in the city of Chicago, and, I dare say, if they had a voice in the matter, 99 per cent of the two and a half million people of this city.

The One Opponent of the Parkway Scheme

"There has appeared in opposition Col. W. H. Bixby, United States engineer—retired—who, in expressing himself, has obviously assumed to know more about what the two and a half million people of Chicago want than they do themselves.

"In the matter of procedure in the lake front case, the next scene in the panorama of the greatest opportunity for civic advance ever offered any city in the world, is the hearing before the Secretary of War in Washington, November 20, 1913, upon the application of the South Park Commissioners and Col. Bixby's objections. Aside from the

reasons which I have advanced for granting the application of the South Park Commissioners, there is this consideration which seems to me very important, namely, that the people of Chicago should be permitted to determine for themselves whether that part of the lake front between Grant and Jackson Parks should be developed as a parkway or held indefinitely in statu quo for a possible harbor development, which may never be required because it in no wise interferes with navigation.

"If I do not mistake the temper of the people of Chicago, home rule is one of their fundamental principles. They believe that they know their own interests, and are best able to judge what is necessary to promote such interests. I have previously indicated that the City Council of the city of Chicago has deliberately approved the plan to establish a parkway rather than a harbor between Grant and Jackson Parks. The South Park Commissioners are now ready to carry out this plan. It has received the support of the most substantial commercial bodies in this city. It has been favored by civic organizations and by our leading public spirited citizens, and there has been practically no dissent anywhere. It therefore seems to me inconceivable that the united demand of our people as thus expressed should not now prevail in Washington." (Applause.)

CHAIRMAN POND: "Back in the early eighties, when the contamination of the Chicago water supply was so serious as to challenge the attention of all of us, somebody conceived the extraordinary idea of making the 'Chicago River run up stream,' and there resulted the Sanitary District program by which we reversed the current of the Chicago River.

"That program contemplated the idea not merely of avoiding water contamination, but at the same time of providing a connection with a future development of our inland waterways.

"Naturally, the subject of inland waterways could not be considered apart from the consideration of the question of harbors. We have with us today a man who has long been interested in that subject as an engineer, who has been studying it ever since the year 1885,

Mr. Lyman E. Cooley, consulting engineer of the Sanitary District. I take great pleasure in introducing Mr. Cooley." (Applause.)

Lyman E. Cooley

"Mr. Chairman and Gentlemen: I do not think I have any serious differences with the previous speaker. In fact, if he carries out his program there is no alternative except to carry out mine, and for that let us be thankful. (Laughter.)

"I think the situation among all the citizens of Chicago, so far as harbor development is concerned, is largely that in which the small boy found himself: The bread was good, the butter was good, but he objected to the way the maid had spread it on. So in regard to this matter.

"The question, I think, is largely one of the necessity for harbor development in itself and of the extent of such development—and on that point I think I would differ from the last speaker.

"My ideas on this subject crystallized along in 1880 in connection with the development of the Chicago sanitary problem. After we lost the Hurd bill in 1887, which provided for sanitation only, it became apparent that the state would not entertain the proposition for disposing of Chicago's sewage by the dilution method without coupling it with the long standing policy of the state, going back to the foundation of the state itself, for a waterway through the state between the lakes and the Mississippi River. So the drainage bill as passed in 1889 was for a waterway with incidental sanitary features, that being the purpose for which Chicago put up the money.

"It seemed to me that the channels which were best suited to meet the sanitary requirements, and also best suited for waterway and harbor development, must necessarily be as close to the people as possible. Therefore, coincident with the development of the waterway problem and as early as 1890 I made a report along the lines of the plan which I am presenting to you today.

Outline of the Cooley Plan

"The idea of my plan is that we shall widen out the drainage canal to six hundred and sixty feet, one-eighth of a

mile, and use it for dock purposes, extending it as far as we choose down the Desplaines valley into the state, and, in the course of time, extending it also across the south side of the city to an outer basin on the lake front at about Eighteenth street.

"Mr. Wacker has done me a kindness and curtailed my remarks somewhat by reading quite fully from my address before the Harbor Commission, for which I thank him. It will therefore be unnecessary to go into that more than to say that I regard an outer basin on the lake front as a sanitary necessity for the purpose of keeping the back water from the drainage canal in times of lake fluctuation from spreading and diffusing in the lake, and so that it can resume its journey down the canal when the oscillations have ceased.

"This scheme will develop along the sanitary canal this side of Willow Springs about one hundred lineal miles of dock frontage. The Sanitary District has at present about 40 per cent of the lands in this region required for such dockage. All the area needed for this harbor development would be about ten square miles, of which the Sanitary District and the Illinois and Michigan Canal now have more than four square miles. That looks like a large area for harbor purposes, but the Sanitary District actually owns today over fifteen square miles of territory, over twelve of which (including the 4 miles) are between the Chicago River and Lake Joliet. So we actually know something about what land costs and how it would be acquired for such purposes.

"The spoil to be removed in excavating such a harbor would produce here on the lake front about five square miles of filling. I think a 'scheme beautiful' somewhat larger than Mr. Wacker has depicted, with three or four thousand acres of territory, could be thus worked out.

Too Formidable? No

"In considering this scheme, gentlemen, the thought, no doubt, arises in your minds at once that it is a very formidable one. You will find also, if you sit down, each of you, when you get home, and figure up all the hog-heads of soup and carloads of bread and

droves of live stock and trainloads of beer that you are going to utilize during your natural lifetime, that you will not see how you are going to finance it—the thought might cause you to go out and commit suicide. But, none of us make such calculations. We do not need to know how much we are going to pay out in our natural lifetime in order to maintain life and continue our activities. Neither do we need to know how much this scheme is going to cost ultimately. All we do need to know is that as long as this city grows we are going to invest money in increased facilities of transportation, and the only thing we can do is to plan for the next fifty or one hundred years according to the best foresight we can command, study our problem properly and then go ahead as the needs require and as we have the resources to do the work.

Where to Begin

"There is only one part of this scheme that needs to be carried out at the outset. We have got to complete the improvement of the Chicago River in the interests of sanitation. We can go right ahead at the same time developing a harbor here, and, as opportunity occurs, we can connect this harbor with the lake shore in the manner I have already mentioned, and eventually put all the streets and car lines that cross this connecting link in subways.

"We cannot increase taxation to carry out any of these schemes because the city is carrying every dollar of taxation that the people can stand. There are, I think, five municipal organizations subject to the scaling process under the Juul law; the city of Chicago—including the Library Board and the Municipal Tuberculosis Sanitarium—the schools, the parks, the Sanitary District and the county. Three per cent on the assessed valuation is the limit of taxes which may be levied by those bodies—except in some cases for interest on bonds and sinking funds. With these taxes, the state tax, the tax for the school building fund, the tax to pay interest on sinking funds and bonds, the licenses and fees of all kinds, special assessments and national taxes, we are paying from thirty to fifty dollars per capita per year in this city. It is only a question of whether we choose

to segregate two dollars per capita or one dollar per capita, according as we see we can afford it, for a scheme such as this harbor development that is going to live beyond this generation, so that our children can look at this great achievement and say 'Well, I heard pa talk about that when I was a boy.'

Chicago on the Continental Profile

"I want to call your attention to the continental profile from the Gulf of St. Lawrence to the Gulf of Mexico, thirty-three hundred miles. Chicago is at the crest or summit of this profile; it is the midway point, sixteen hundred miles from the Gulf of Mexico and seventeen hundred miles from the Gulf of St. Lawrence. That is the reason that Chicago has dominated and yet dominates the continental valley commercially. It is no accident that we have a great city at this point. There has been a water trail here between the Gulf of St. Lawrence and the Gulf of Mexico from the discovery down through the settlement and conquest of this nation; but we have about reached a point in our development where unless we make some further departures, provide some new incentive to growth, we will have exhausted our patrimony. I take it we have now about reached that point in our development. The population of the Sanitary District increased by 625,000 between 1890 and 1900; but between 1900 and 1910 it increased but 535,000, a falling off of 90,000 in the increment. As I look upon economic conditions as they have developed and are developing at Chicago, that increment is going to decrease still further before we can turn conditions around. I am going to speak about that later.

"The salvation of the situation depends upon our location with reference to the continental profile. I have been professionally connected with every section of the water route from gulf to gulf and across the state of New York, and I make the statement here that you can make that water route twenty-four feet deep from gulf to gulf for the entire distance of thirty-three hundred miles for less than it cost to build the Panama Canal—and when you have done that you can make shipments from any point on that water route to any place in the

world without breaking bulk. I challenge any contradiction of that statement. I have wanted an opportunity to prove it. In the meantime I only admit it.

Chicago and the Seaboard

"Now to get at the point of view from which this problem is to be approached. The ocean, with the development of modern commerce, is the dominant element in the transportation of the world. Modern transportation represents perhaps the most characteristic difference between us and the ancient peoples. The nations and cities today that have prospered most and are growing fastest are those on the seaboard or connected with the seaboard by waterways. In the United States today, according to the latest census, between 80 and 90 per cent of the population gathered in cities is adjacent to navigable waters and the cities that are inland are mostly of the smaller class. It is a strange proposition that the Almighty should have located the navigable waters adjacent to the big towns, but that seems to be the case.

"I wish to call your attention also to the fact that the proportion of population by the waterside is greater today than it has been in any period of history. In other words, contrary, perhaps, to the popular impression, the development of land transportation has accentuated the growth of cities by the waterside and not built up the inland cities. I believe that is a proposition you want to take very deeply to heart.

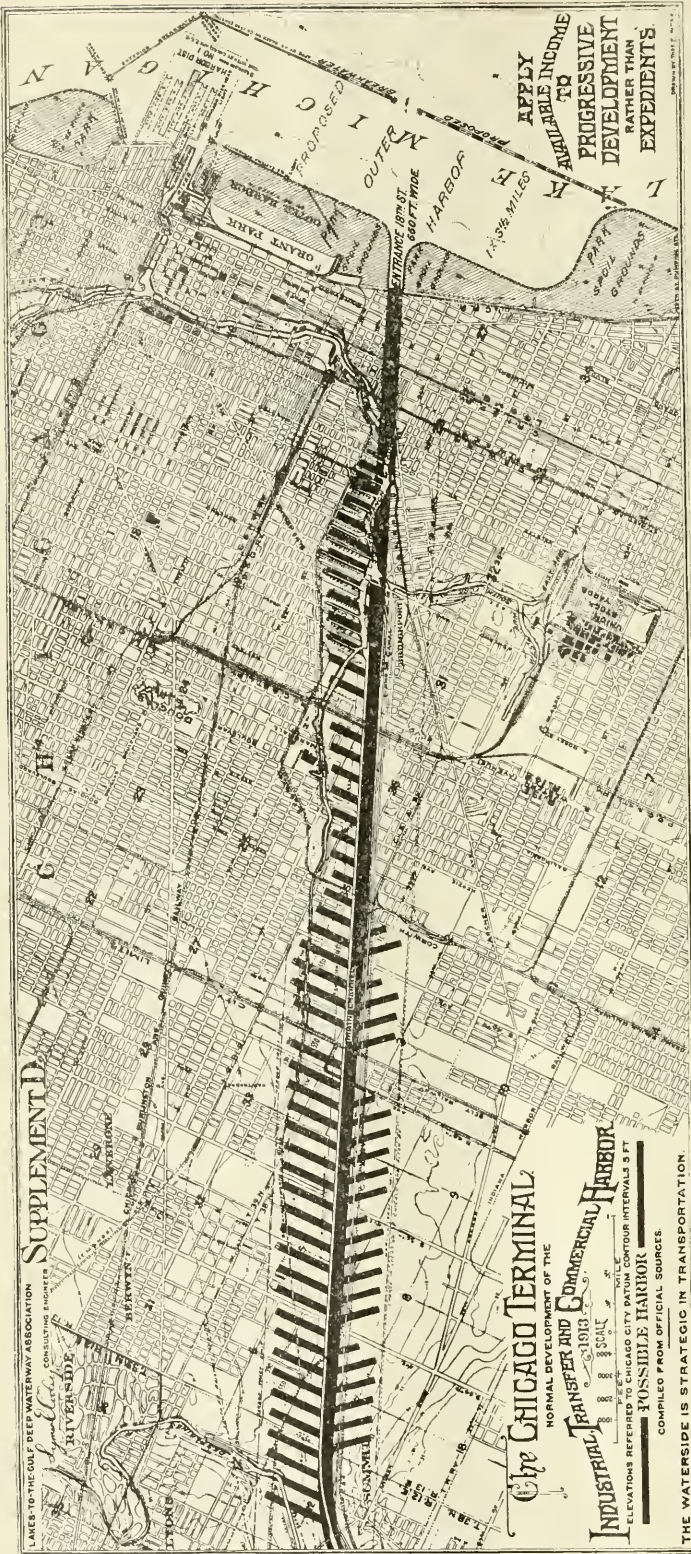
Vital Importance of Waterways

"Take the case of a country like England. Everybody is familiar with its commercial domination. It has an area less than the state of Illinois, surrounded by the sea. France has two seaboards and an inland waterway system of between six thousand and seven thousand miles. It has a population of forty millions. The area of France is about equal to the area of Illinois, Indiana, Michigan and Wisconsin. It has less resources than those states, but several times the population density. France, with these seaboards and its interior waterway development—a mile of waterway to twenty-five or thirty miles of territory—illustrates

the physical possibilities and is thus able to meet its transportation requirements with twenty-five thousand miles of railway or a mile of railway to each eight square miles of territory. We are not able in a country with one-fourth the density of population to do our work of transportation with a mile of railroad to six square miles of territory. We will take the case of Germany, which has sixty million people, and an area practically the same as France, with its two seaboards. With a population density six times as great as we have in this country, and about the same waterway development as France, Germany has less than thirty thousand miles of railway. The point I want to make is this: We are a thousand miles from the sea. We cannot hope to maintain competition in the last resort with the more favored nations on a railway basis alone.

City Threatened by Panama Canal

"I want now to speak for a moment of the effect the Panama Canal is going to have on the interior of this country. It is going to build up the two seaboards of this continent at the expense of the interior. We are all patriotic; we want to see the country developed; we hope to be able to remedy the conditions which the canal is going to produce. As everybody familiar with transportation conditions in this country knows, the Panama route has been throttled ever since the building of the Union Pacific road across the continent, by the trans-continental lines. But four or five years ago the Atlantic & Pacific Steamship Company, an independent line on the Pacific, was organized, and the United States controlling the situation at Panama, has loosened the railway grip not much, but the result has been that you have been shipping goods out of Chicago to New York City, down to Colon, across the isthmus of Panama and up to Pacific coast points. Today zinc blocks from La Salle, Illinois, are shipped to Chicago and then by lake and canal to New York, thence to Colon, across the isthmus and on up the Pacific coast. Within two years, shipments of barley have come from the Pacific coast in the same way to St. Louis by way of New Orleans, at much cheaper rates



CHICAGO TERMINAL INDUSTRIAL TRANSFER AND COMMERCIAL HARBOR

The above engraving presents the natural evolution of an industrial and commercial harbor located at Chicago, close to the center of population.

The inner harbor proposed is shown 660 feet, the slips 330 feet, and the dock land between, 550 feet wide. Such a plan is readily applicable by widening the present drainage canal of the Sanitary District.

The material excavated from the widened channel and slips would provide filling for several square miles of park area on the lake front.

The development is indicated as far as Summit, but the project can be extended at a future time to Willow Springs. Three-fourths of the right of way required for this portion of the project is now owned by the Sanitary District, and the present channel has a width of 202 feet through earth.

[Plat and text presented by Mr. Cooley in illustration of his plan as outlined in the accompanying discussion.]

than they could have been brought across the continent by rail.

"In an investigation which I made a year or two ago for the Business Men's League of St. Louis of the conditions of transportation at that point, I found an exceedingly interesting situation which illustrates as well as anything the dominance of the sea. New England manufacturers are shipping their goods to Galveston by sea, a distance of twenty-four hundred miles, and delivering them in northern Texas, chasing St. Louis out of that territory which it has held commercially from time immemorial, and to which that city has but short haul, across lots, so to speak.

Future of Rate Regulation

"We will take up another point in that connection, the question of rates. Most of you are familiar with the original theory that prevailed as to the workings of the interstate commerce law, the recent rulings of the Interstate Commerce Commission and the acts that have been passed by Congress since 1910. The entire tendency of legislation, which is also the economic tendency, is to do away with discrimination. In the latest statutes upon the subject we have forbidden the railroads to own water lines. The laws are disposed to put every point in the United States, without reference to its locality, upon a par so far as railroad hauls are concerned, whether it be a water point or not. Eventually that aim is going to be realized, and these great commercial centers on the waterways are not going to be favored. I think we can look inevitably to such a result, because it is along the line of equity.

"Four years ago I made a visit to Germany, went over the Rhine from Strasburg to Rotterdam and made a study of it. The Rhine between those two points is little longer than the Illinois River route from Chicago to St. Louis; not as long as the route from Chicago to Cairo. It has less natural scenery, less resources and a less rich hinterland than lies between here and St. Louis or Cairo—and yet the Rhine had fifty million tons of commerce. How did that come to pass? By the precise fact, as I have stated, that Germany, owning her railroads, found it an eco-

nomic proposition to make practically a flat mileage rate, and the water points are not favored. The result is that all German industrial development that needs cheap transportation has tended to the waterside where they can get the cheap transportation and so get an advantage over the inland points. Germany has avoided unnecessarily multiplying railroad lines. She has enough to serve the needs of the population, for military purposes, for express and quick dispatch of freight, but she finds it economical to spend her additional money, not in duplicating railroad systems, but in developing waterways. In my opinion, that is the logical outcome of tendencies that are now set up in our legislation, and of equity to the American people.

Chicago's Rapid Early Growth

"We will come back now to Chicago. Chicago was a child of destiny, of opportunity. Her growth and prosperity were due to that continental trail which gave her twenty years the start of any rival in the West, which directed here the nucleus of the railroad system of the continent. We built the Illinois and Michigan Canal. It is now obsolete, people speak disrespectfully of it, but it is the only public utility that I have ever heard of that got out of debt in twenty years. At that time we had developed a great lake commerce which stayed with us until the early nineties. Statistics showed that we had more entries and clearances in the port of Chicago than in any other port of the world except London; we had an actual tonnage in excess of Liverpool, and were carrying eastbound more freight out of Chicago by water than by rail.

"That had been the history of Chicago from the beginning up to the nineties. Through the facilities of transportation we had become a primary market. We had grown enormously and rapidly in population by reason of that and by reason of the fact that we built a city here more cheaply than it could be built anywhere else on earth. We dug out our harbor to make brick. We had stone in our back yard down at Lemont. We brought the timber across the lake virtually for a transfer or ferry charge. And we grew exceedingly.

Conditions Today

"What are the conditions today? We have lost our lake commerce substantially. A large part of our citizens only think of the lake as a drinking cup, as a place to cool off a little in the summer and to ameliorate the winter condition and as a place for pleasure. On that side of the question I am in accord with Mr. Wacker. We want a strip of green-sward around the rim of our drinking cup—I am for that.

"But economic conditions, partly due to the dwindling of our lake commerce, partly due to profound economic causes, are routing freight around us to its ultimate destinations. Chicago has lost its position and its prestige as a primary market. A part of this is due to our own sins of omission. We were so busy jostling each other in an effort to get our gunny sacks under the spout and singing the chorus of the flies on the grindstone, 'How we go round,' that we imagined all of our prosperity was due to some innate quality of our citizenship rather than to a pre-ordained condition. We are very much surprised that it does not keep up somehow or other; we are still sticking to the grindstone with our sucker feet and still singing the chorus of the flies and wondering why the grindstone is slowing up.

"We have got to change those conditions. We are as much of a railroad point as Lincoln, Nebraska, or Indianapolis, for all practical purposes. We have lost one lung of our commercial breathing apparatus. We have got to change the existing conditions. But we cannot solve this question of arrested development in fifteen minutes; we are not going to solve it in this decade. We can make a start toward it. If we put our minds to the task we can make a start and perhaps realize something in the next decade, and particularly in the decade to follow. I will tell you what is going to solve this problem. It does not make any difference what you or I think about it in the next fifteen minutes, the solution is a part of destiny and has got to come. It is only a question of whether we will quicken it.

What Our Rivals Are Doing

"The state of New York is spending \$101,000,000 on its barge canal and \$20,-

000,000 additional for terminals; in all \$121,000,000. This work will be opened in 1914 or 1915, probably about the same time as the Panama Canal. New York has thought it worth while to spend that money. If she does not realize her anticipations in regard to the restoration of lake commerce she is justified, from a purely local and domestic standpoint, in that expenditure—and I think she takes that view of it.

"We are going to realize something from that New York development, some new impetus. Canada is calling the bluff of New York upon that question. She has started out to build a thirty-foot waterway; she has let contracts for two million dollars this year. The plans are not published yet but will be in the coming annual reports. She is remodeling the Welland Canal, putting in seven locks in place of twenty-four, making them thirty feet deep, and making the prism twenty-five feet, the extra five feet to be the subject of future development. The new American Soo lock is to be twenty-four feet deep. The sanitary channel is also twenty-four feet deep, and it looks as though there were some singular coincidence in regard to the question of depth. Canada will follow the Welland project by developing the St. Lawrence. The province of Canada has not the financial resources of the state of Illinois, but it does vastly more with what it has in the way of meeting transportation conditions. We are to have the St. Lawrence outlet, how soon I do not know—but it will first come by the extension of deep water into Lake Ontario and later on to Montreal.

The Deep Waterway to the Gulf

"We started out very quietly here at Chicago to build a deep waterway to the gulf in connection with our drainage canal. The statutes of the state define clearly the policy of the state in regard to the matter and the drainage canal has been built accordingly. We have put the lake water into the valley and now a lot of people think we ought not to have the right to do so. We must prepare a way for this water through the valley to the Mississippi or get Uncle Sam to do it for us. It is not known to the shallow waterway advocates exactly what the physical condi-

tions are. We cannot put through the Illinois valley the quantity of water required for future Chicago sanitation without making a waterway at least fourteen to eighteen feet deep. That is the physical fact; that is what started the deep waterway; that is what it means. That is why the state of Illinois adopted a deep waterway policy. People who talk about nine feet or some other shallow depth are simply furnishing the enemy with ammunition, and arousing a public sentiment here at Chicago to confuse our cause. We can solve nothing with nine feet.

"The people in the East, the people in Canada, the people on the seaboard who do not want to see this waterway developed, understand the situation better than the average Chicagoan does, and they know how to meet it. Our solution of the problem has gone along about as fast as it could under all the circumstances. We passed the constitutional amendment, but we have not legislated on the subject because the first thing to do is to dispose of the hydraulic parasites between Joliet and La Salle who conceive that it is up to them to gather the fruit of taxation in the Sanitary District. The litigation to oust these parasites is in a fair way to be disposed of within a year or two and within fifteen minutes after that the deep waterway project will be under way.

"So we have under consideration and in actual progress this waterway of which I have spoken, from the Gulf of Mexico to the Gulf of St. Lawrence. The dream of the explorers and the dream which dominated men when making treaties dividing this country, is going to be realized. How soon I cannot say, not indefinitely in the future, but as quickly as the resources will permit.

The Waterway and the Harbor

"It is not too early to shape our harbor policy to meet these conditions. In fact we are nearly up to that now. Our sanitary project is so far worked out that the work originally contemplated can be practically completed in another four or five years. My idea is that we should then proceed along the line of this plan which I have described and make use of the taxing powers of the Sanitary District.

"Mr. Wacker quoted my statement before the Harbor Committee that we ought to be running the sewage through the back yard and not be producing sewage unnecessarily on the lake front. If we were to design cities, if our cities were to be made by engineers as they ought to be made, Mr. Chairman, in place of letting them grow like Topsy, the first problem the engineer would set before him would be this: What is the most essential thing in a city? The answer would be: To take care of the health of its people, to select a site which would best lend itself to an ideal water supply and ideal sewage disposal. That would be his first problem because it is the most costly.

"The next problem would be his harbor problem, which has an extremely intimate relation to the sanitary question. The other means of transportation are relatively plastic, they can better adapt themselves to any situation, whereas there is a certain rigidity in the water proposition by reason of topography and sanitary conditions and magnitude.

"The question as to what purposes a harbor must serve is important. Under modern conditions as they have developed abroad and as they are developing here even in Chicago, the future warehouse, the future industry, will be located by the waterside. There will be increasing reasons for locating by the waterside so that equal facilities of transportation by water or rail may be availed of. That being the case, you will need miles and miles of dock front on which industries can locate with proper access by rail. You need as great an opportunity in that regard almost as the railroads themselves furnish for industries located along their lines.

Harbor Belongs on Sanitary Canal

"This is the greatest demand for a harbor and the harbor belongs along the Sanitary Canal as I have indicated. It does not belong anywhere else. You have hillsides for healthy homes from Summit to Joliet. The population can take care of its sanitary conditions better and more cheaply than in any other location in Cook County. This project is along the lines of a policy to extend our development down into the state

rather than to spread it along the lake front indefinitely, perhaps into a foreign state where it would produce nuisances outside our jurisdiction. So, I am not in accord with the idea of locating our industrial developments at some point remote from the city. I believe that they should be maintained as an integral part of the city.

"The same reason applies to goods in transit, foods for reshipment, or goods to be warehoused and held for future delivery. If we are to remain the railway ganglion of this country, and if we are to be virtually on an arm of the sea the commerce of Chicago will become enormous, and we must have lots of room to care for it.

"There is this further factor to be considered. We are now routing freight around Chicago and the switching charge may determine whether freight will go forward by boat or by rail. If you put your harbor south or north, you will impose a burden of from five to eight dollars per car on transfer freight for all time. That is intolerable and it cannot be contemplated from any standpoint of sound public policy.

"There is an enormous amount of commerce due to our own people, of course, that needs to be as near to the people as possible. This relation cannot be as close by water as by rail. But we can avoid a separation of ten or fifteen miles which would be as absurd as to put our railway terminals that distance away. We cannot think of it.

Our Lake Coasting Trade

"There is also to be considered the local or coasting trade which they are trying to develop here for which the city is providing piers north of the river mouth. Go and study Lake Erie conditions, study how Cleveland and Buffalo have developed and how Detroit has grown. Measure up the influence of the Cleveland-Detroit Transportation Company upon the growth of these cities, the number of passengers and the amount of freight it has carried and contrast that with the impoverished use which we are making of Lake Michigan in our local work alone. Contrast the commercial growth of those cities in the last ten years with what we are doing here. They have

been increasing their increment while we have been falling off 15 or 20 per cent during that time.

"We have here in Chicago and its environs, half the population now existing in either Holland or Belgium and we have laid out our sanitary solution on the basis of a future population equal to that of either of those countries. If we make proper provision and water commerce comes into its own, then our future will need facilities equal to either of those countries, without considering the enormously greater hinterland.

"Now, gentlemen, I think perhaps someone else ought to have a chance to talk. I think I have covered the main points, but I warn you again that the scheme which I have proposed does not involve enormous taxation, does not involve any change in the revenue policy, it does involve the application of a part of our funds to a beneficial use that will outlast our own time. I call your attention again—and I hope you will carry the thought home with you—to Chicago's ideal location on the continental profile and to the fact we are the central railroad ganglion of this continent, that we have an enormous vested interest here which cannot get away. The railroads are here and must still haul freight here notwithstanding adverse economic conditions. The people are here, and some of them cannot get away, but the fact is that our population is growing by birthrate rather than by actual immigration or accretion from the outside.

"How are we to change these conditions which handicap our destiny? From my standpoint we ought to forward in every way possible these movements by which the sea will be brought to our doors—since we cannot take ourselves to the sea. If we produce this continental waterway and eventually develop more than 25,000 miles of tributaries in the Mississippi valley, a waterway system like France or Germany, we will be at the continental crossroads of land and water transportation. Our future will be as secure as the existence of Constantinople was during the dark ages, or the Bosphorus between Asia and Europe." (Applause.)

CHAIRMAN POND: "Every little while Chicago wakes up from its absorption in business and politics and pleasure

and decides that something must be done about something, and the mayor conceives a policy or a commission is appointed; action appears to be imminent; and then we go to sleep again. In one of those periods when action was imminent, however, we appointed a Harbor Commission to see what might be done in regard to a harbor. The chairman of that commission we have with us today, and I am going to call upon him as our next speaker. Gentlemen, Mr. John M. Ewen." (Applause.)

John M. Ewen

"About twenty years ago, when we were in trouble with England over the Venezuela question, Lord Rothschild sent a remarkable communication to Lord Salisbury, who was then Prime Minister, a copy of which communication was before the Chicago Harbor Commission when it made its report in 1909. It was intended to warn England to remain on friendly terms with the United States and was probably prompted by the financial interests held by the firm of Rothschild in this country. It urged England to encourage Canada in the development of her railways and waterways because the United States would develop her own railways and waterways as fast as possible. He predicted that the United States could and would build the Panama Canal. The United States is now rebuilding her railways to meet the demand for lower rates. He said further that the demand for lower rates would go on and to meet same the United States would be forced to develop her waterways—those of the Mississippi Valley and others. The communication thus touched upon this very condition Mr. Cooley has discussed.

Harbor Commission Indorsed Parkway

"I want to read you a few of the recommendations of the Chicago Harbor Commission with reference to the particular point that I understood was to be talked upon here today: That is, the disposal of the territory on the lake front between Grant and Jackson Parks. A few lines right at the opening of the report explain the purpose for which the commission was appointed:

The Harbor Commission, created primarily to consider the question as to whether

any part of the Chicago lake front should be reserved, if possible, to future harbor uses, was not limited to the consideration of that one question. The resolution creating it called for a comprehensive and detailed report on Chicago harbors, and their relation to railway terminals and park plans.

"The commission, as you know, sat for about a year and held hearings twice a week, at which everybody who had anything to say about harbors and parks and railways was heard by the commission. The report, which is voluminous, shows that we did have a great deal of matter to go through. I am only going to read you two or three paragraphs to show you what we found in relation to the development of this territory. Remember that we have about eighteen miles of lake front, a great deal of which is already occupied by Lincoln Park, Jackson Park and Grant Park. About one-half mile of shore, adjacent to the Chicago River, and about five miles between Grant and Jackson Parks are the only parts left for possible harbor development. The report says:

While the Harbor Commission is not prepared to make an affirmative recommendation as to the extent and nature of any possible harbor development in the area between Grant Park and Jackson Park, it does believe most strongly that no park development should be favored which will forever prevent the possibility of utilizing a portion of this area later for harbor purposes.

The Harbor Commission appreciates the value of the lake front for park development. It does not desire to stand in the way of the speedy realization of such plans, but, on the contrary, strongly favors their accomplishment at the earliest possible moment. There is no real conflict between the harbor and the park interests of Chicago and no artificial or unnecessary discord should be permitted to retard the complete and prompt execution of the plans necessary for the development of both sides of the city's life. (Page 41.)

* * *

It is recognized by the commission that that plan should be worked out which will least hinder all desirable park development. This requires more expert and detailed information than the Harbor Commission is able to supply, hence its recommendation that this be referred for further expert study. The commission suggests that a detailed plan carrying out this idea should be worked out jointly by the experts of the park authorities and an expert engineer appointed by the city, subject to the approval of the City Council and the South Park Commissioners. The commis-

sion urges immediate action by these authorities. (Page 42.)

Letter to Secretary of War

"About a month ago, when Mr. Lindley M. Garrison, Secretary of War, called for a public hearing—postponed and now to be held next week—following the government's veto of the South Park Board's request for permission to go ahead with its lake front improvement, I addressed a letter to Mr. Garrison, a few extracts of which are as follows:

My Dear Sir: I enclose herewith a plan which has for its purpose reconciling the various interests which are at work in the development of the water front of the city of Chicago. The plan is in accord with the recommendations made by the Chicago Harbor Commission in 1909, of which commission I had the honor of being chairman, and from whose report I quote as follows:

"Then I quoted from the report of the commission those excerpts which I have just read you. Continuing, I said:

Without going into detail, I wish to state briefly that the recommendations made by the Harbor Commission regarding the bridges crossing the river and the docks adjacent to and north of the mouth of the river, have been adopted by the city, for which nine million dollars of bonds have been authorized by the people to pay the expense of same, and the work is progressing.

The further recommendations of the commission affecting the lake front are that the area immediately south of the mouth of the river, extending to Randolph street (Grant Park), should be reserved for dock development similar to that north of the river; and then follow the recommendations above quoted for the area between Grant and Jackson Parks.

The diagram I enclose, with the key to same, I believe you will find to be self-explanatory. The recommendation I make in order that said work can be carried out in accordance with the Harbor Commission's report, is that the present breakwater be removed and a new breakwater built further out, thereby enclosing a commodious, convenient harbor for anchorage and shelter for vessels; that the present Park Board plan of park development be carried out in substance as proposed by them, provided that the lagoon should be of sufficient width to permit vessels to pass in from the outer harbor to the lagoon through a bridge opening similar, perhaps, to the one at Duluth, so that vessels could have easy and convenient approach to docks built at such places as may be found necessary along the filled-in mainland adjacent to the railroad tracks. I suggest that in the authorization by the federal government, the proper restrictions suggested by General Bixby in his report be made cover-

ing this plan and protecting shipping interests.

A considerable number of our most prominent citizens favor park development along this area to the exclusion of shipping interests, many of whom have been instrumental in the upbuilding of Chicago. These people do not believe that the shipping interests at any time will be of sufficient magnitude to warrant the building of docks along this area, and they may be right. Time only can determine this. If they are right, the park plan proposed by them will never be disturbed.

On the other hand, there are many who are in favor of doing everything possible to develop the shipping interests, who believe that in years to come the development for harbor will take place in this area. Should this be true, time will determine; and the point the Harbor Commission made is that the development of the parks in this area should not preclude the possibility of harbor development if in the future the city of Chicago should wish it.

It is unnecessary to say that I have purposely refrained from suggesting anything more than the general plan—not going into any engineering details. These details are not difficult, but should be worked out by the expert engineers of the park authorities and the city of Chicago.

Jurisdiction of Federal Government

"In the several discussions had by the various individuals and organizations trying to solve the future development of the lake front, and especially that portion of it between Grant and Jackson Parks, it has developed that there seems to be no appreciation of what are the duties of the federal government in the matter.

"To illustrate: It has been reported more than once in public print as coming from officials high in our city government, as well as from citizens of undoubted loyalty and devotion to our city, that General Bixby, the chief of the United States Engineer Corps, has no business to oppose what Chicago wants; that it is absurd to suppose that the citizens of Chicago, who have her welfare closest to heart, should not know better what Chicago wants in the way of harbor development than an engineer officer located in Washington, who perhaps may be a most excellent engineer but who would have little or no knowledge of the situation in Chicago. General Bixby has recommended that no development be permitted along the lake front from Grant to Jackson Parks that

would make it impossible at some future time for shipping interests to use this area if in the future Chicago finds it to her best interests to do so, and in taking that attitude General Bixby is simply doing his duty.

"Chicago certainly has a right to carry out any public improvement, such as the laying out of its new terminals, its subways, its streets and boulevards, harbor development, etc., so long as these improvements do not interfere with the rights of other cities and states. Such cities as Buffalo, Cleveland, Detroit, Duluth, Milwaukee, etc., situated on our lakes, have no voice in deciding what Chicago may wish to do, until any proposed action by the city of Chicago becomes an interstate matter. Our lakes are interstate highways, and cities upon them can only be protected in any infringement upon their rights, as they see them, through the federal government; therefore, the federal government has the veto power upon any harbor improvement, be it in a river or on a lake, provided the river or lake be an interstate highway.

"The engineer officer, General Bixby, has vetoed the application of the South Park Board of Chicago to devote the area between Grant and Jackson Parks for park purposes, exclusive of shipping interests and any possible further harbor development in that zone; so in consequence of this a public hearing was arranged by the Secretary of War, Mr. Garrison, for last Wednesday, the 22d of October, to listen to the arguments that might be advanced by those interested. This hearing has been postponed until after Mr. Garrison's return from Panama.

A Way Out Proposed

"Appreciating this situation and understanding the seriousness of the opposition to the proposed development and the great difficulty, or perhaps impossibility, of overcoming same, I have suggested a plan which, in my opinion, will,

First—Remove the opposition of the federal government;

Second—Give to the Park Board practically what it desires;

Third—Satisfy the shipping interests;

Fourth—Leave the settlement of the disputed question as to whether dock development would ever be necessary in this zone to future generations.

"The plan, in my opinion, is logical, and should be supported by the conflicting interests. I do not believe that those who are in favor of park development and who honestly believe that it will never be necessary for shipping interests to occupy this territory, will take the position that they intend now to settle the question so that, no matter whether they are right or wrong, shipping interests can never in the future (if in generations to come it seems imperative to develop harbors along this area) be able to occupy this area. On the other hand, shipping interests certainly cannot be ready to say that they need docks built along this stretch of lake front at the present time; and no matter how much they may honestly believe that the future of the shipping interests will demand such development, they should not oppose present park development along this area not interfering in any wise with any possible growth and development of shipping interests in the future. That is all I have to say." (Applause.)

General Discussion

MR. COOLEY: "In view of Mr. Ewen's comments, I wish to say that I understood Mr. Wacker to remark that the ordinances of the city protected any possible harbor development that the city or the state might wish to make on the lake front later on. Am I correct?"

CHAIRMAN POND: "I so understand it."

MR. WALTER L. FISHER: "Not quite that, but that in substance."

MR. EWEN: "I think if you will read General Bixby's report you will find it is more restricted than General Bixby's criticism."

CHAIRMAN POND: "What Mr. Wacker stated, I believe, was that the city ordinance provided that lands between 16th and 22d streets might be utilized for harbor purposes later on if necessary."

MR. FISHER: "Further than that, the resolution of the park board expressly preserved and in fact provides that the citizens of Chicago shall own in perpetuity the riparian rights between 16th and 22d streets to be developed at any time for harbor purposes."

MR. COOLEY: "So that a proposition such as I have spoken of here would not necessarily be forbidden."

MR. FISHER: "If you will pardon me, Mr. Cooley, for interrupting you, because I am interested myself, having written the legal chapter in the Chicago plan book, I would like to say that, as I understand it, there is no conflict whatever between your plan and the plan of the park board except that you have seen fit to draw your park lines with a ruler and they have seen fit to have them drawn by a landscape engineer."

MR. COOLEY: "You can modify those lines all you wish."

MR. FISHER: "That is what I supposed; you do not object to our having that lake front line a little undulating?"

MR. COOLEY: "No, I was simply interested in seeing how much territory we could fill in."

MR. GEORGE C. SIKES: "Would a reservation from 16th street to 22d street be sufficient to permit the carrying out of your plan?"

MR. COOLEY: "If I understood Mr. Wacker correctly, all that is necessary has been done in that regard."

Where Plans Agree

MR. FISHER: "I think that is a very important question and it gets to the real nubbin of what difference may exist between Mr. Wacker and Mr. Cooley, if there is such difference. I know of no objection whatever to putting a breakwater such as Mr. Cooley proposes just outside of the harbor lines of the proposed work that Mr. Wacker has favored; this would give exactly as much space for protection of vessels as Mr. Cooley gives. The essential thing in his plan is the proposed outer breakwater to create a basin to protect the lake from pollution and to give an anchorage for vessels."

MR. COOLEY: "That is right."

MR. FISHER: "So if that breakwater were constructed at the same distance out in the lake from the shore line of Mr. Wacker's plan, and there were six blocks of entrance from 16th street to 22d street, all of the essential features of your plan would be preserved."

MR. COOLEY: "I simply followed the harbor lines as laid out by this last board of engineers in connection with the city plan and extended the breakwater due south."

MR. FISHER: "If I am correct I would like to know it, Mr. Cooley, because I myself attach a great deal of importance to your view. As I understood it, if a breakwater were constructed at some distance out in the lake from the outer line of Mr. Wacker's plan as is shown on your plan here, affording the same security for the anchoring of vessels and giving the same protection for sanitary purposes, all of the essential purposes of your plan, so far as the lake front is concerned, would be preserved?"

MR. COOLEY: "That is right."

CHAIRMAN POND: "The entrance to the harbor on the drainage canal would come within that area between 16th street and 22d street?"

General Bixby's Real Attitude

MR. COOLEY: "Yes, that is the proposition."

"There is one other proposition. Mr. Ewen alluded to General Bixby, and, being a personal friend of General Bixby and having had some troubles of my own with him, I desire that when he is to be tried he be tried on my indictment and not on that of somebody else. I have had several conversations with General Bixby, the last was last December, in regard to this harbor proposition in Chicago."

"The first time I came in contact with him was at the time the South Park Board carried the lake front statute, when he sent a very long protest to the governor of this state asking him to veto the bill. So his objection to it goes back to the time when he was in Chicago in charge of this district. I was

consulted by the governor at that time and I took the position then that it was unfortunate that the subject had been anticipated before the city of Chicago had determined upon a program. I did not agree with General Bixby a little bit, but I did agree with him that we were going to need these harbor facilities and no opportunity should be foreclosed until the people of Chicago realized it and were ready to adopt an alternative if necessary.

"I think the discussion since has largely eliminated many of the considerations upon which that opinion was based. We have had the commission of which Mr. Ewen was chairman; we have had the Council Committee at work on the subject; so that the objections that I made to Governor Deneen at that time have largely disappeared.

"I called upon General Bixby in 1907 when I returned from Springfield to see

what his real attitude was. I explained to him my point of view and he stated in substance: 'If that scheme could ever be carried out I would be in favor of it, but I do not think we will ever get the people here to take hold of so large a proposition and I do not propose to have that lake front foreclosed until they determine upon something.' That was his position also in December last when I talked with him.

"I do not think that he necessarily favors the lake front for harbor development; I think his whole proposition is that something should be done and the city of Chicago should realize it is up to the point of doing something or making some provision for the future, and that if we choose to make the development in some other way than the one he suggested it would be entirely agreeable to him. I think that much is due to General Bixby."









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